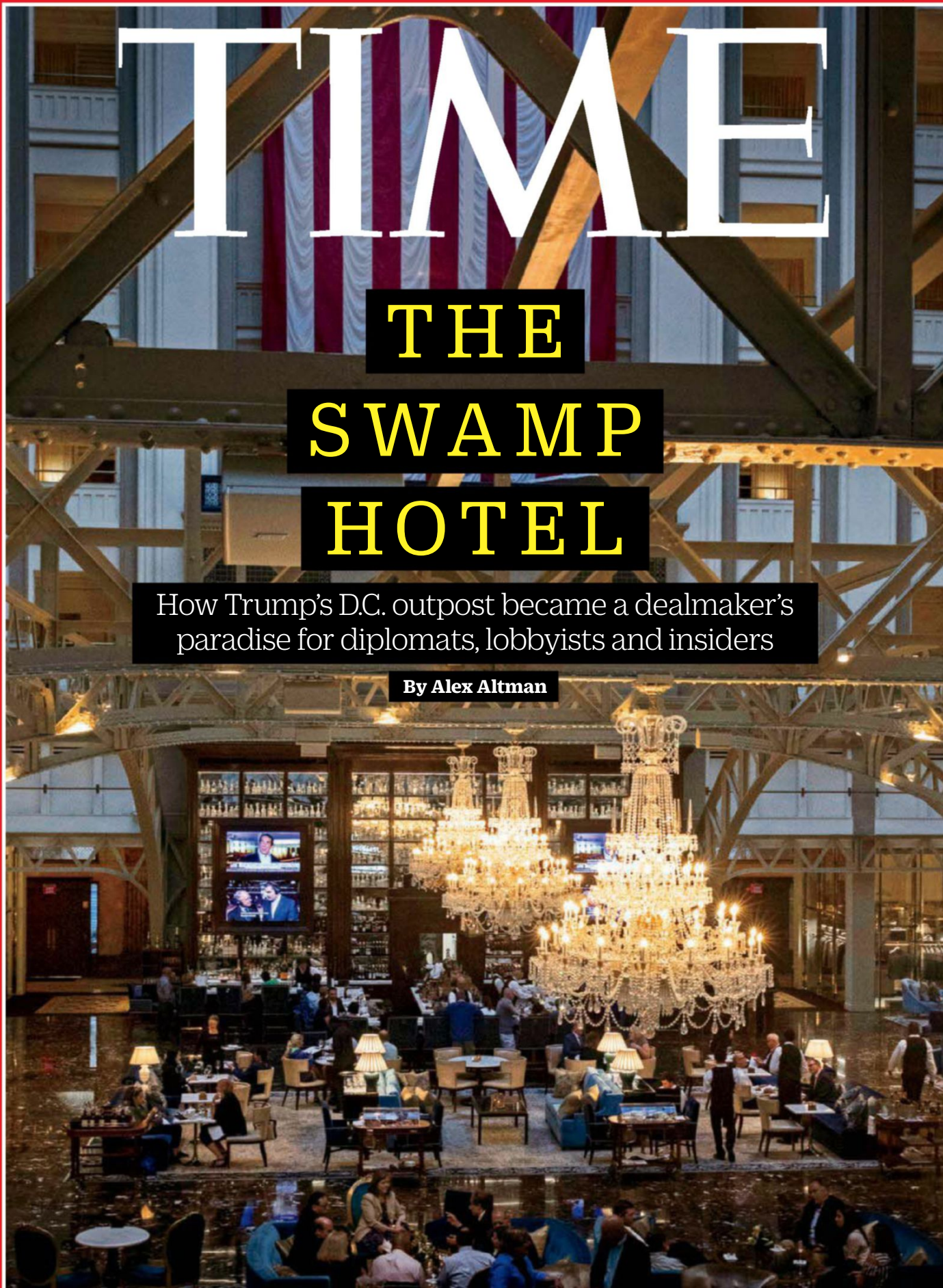


# TIME

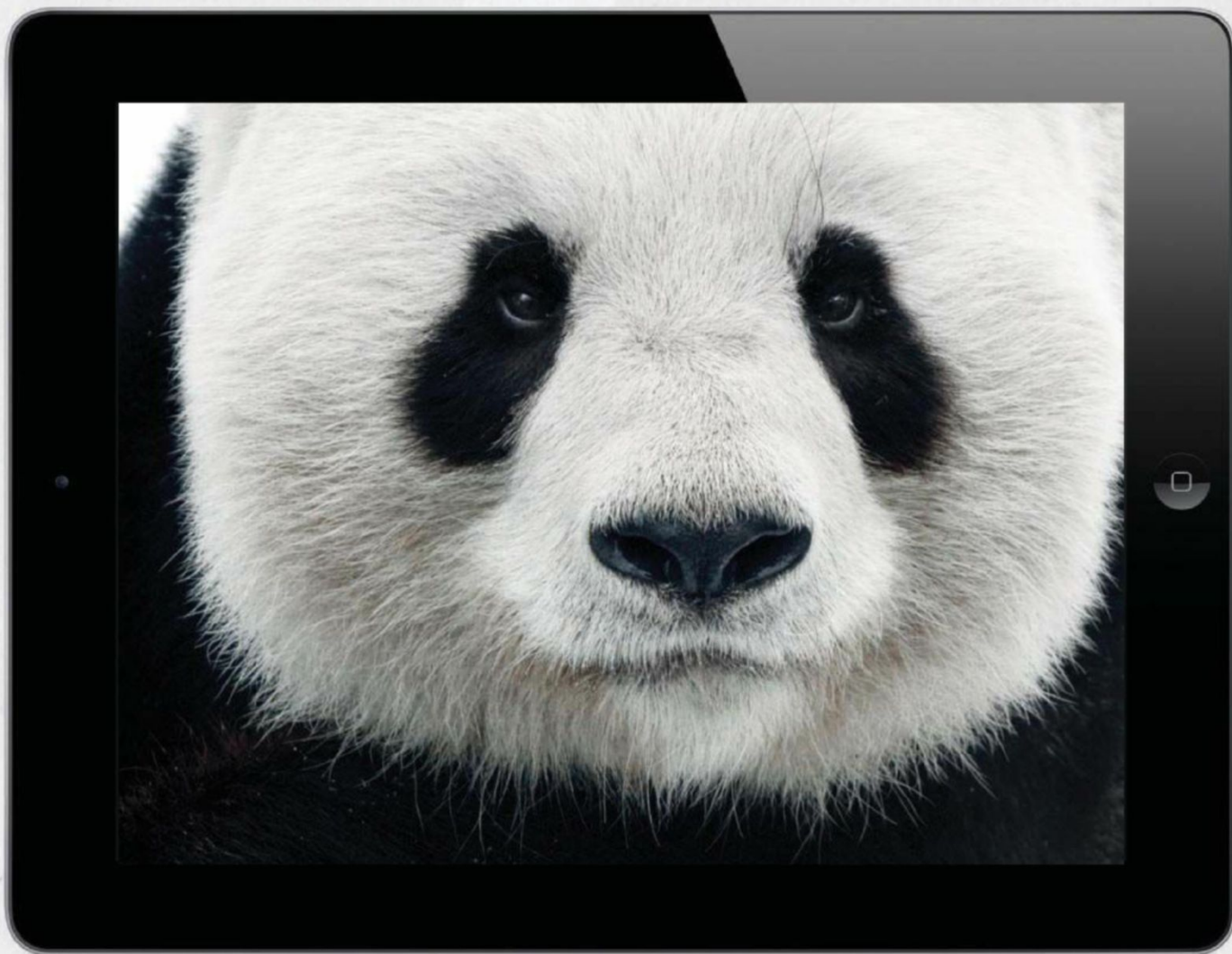
## THE SWAMP HOTEL

How Trump's D.C. outpost became a dealmaker's  
paradise for diplomats, lobbyists and insiders

By Alex Altman







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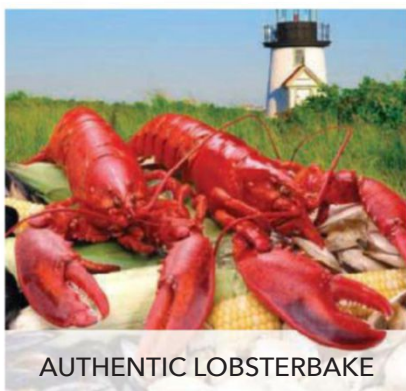
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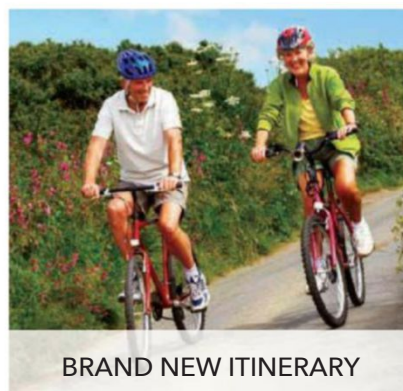
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< **Lorde at the Chateau Marmont hotel in Los Angeles on May 18**

*Photograph by Mark Mahaney for TIME*

**ON THE COVER:** *Christopher Morris—VII for TIME*

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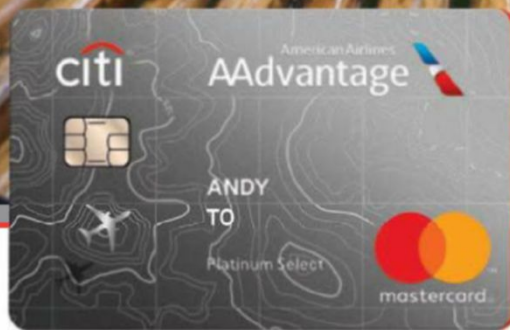
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## What you said about ...

**THE GOOD SON** Karl Vick's June 12 cover story on Jared Kushner's role in the White House showed that the popular idea of Kushner as a "moderating force" is "overblown," wrote Jennifer Jacobs of Bloomberg News. On Twitter, Paul Risley connected the story's sketch of Kushner's relationship with Trump to the family and power dynamics of *The Godfather*. Rick Thoeni of Denville, N.J., said it was "disappointing" to read that Kushner and Trump are "guided by the words *family first*" when his own father, as a nuclear launch officer in the U.S. Air Force, said country came first. "Shouldn't we expect at least this," he wrote, "from the President of the United States?"

'Jared's actually become much more famous than me. I'm a little bit upset about that.'

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP, at the White House

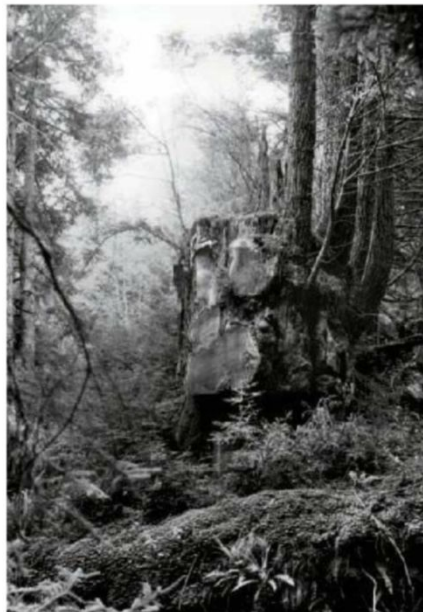
**THE CASE FOR COMMUNITY COLLEGE** Educators found several teachable moments in Josh Sanburn's June 12 feature on a South Dakota school that's become a model for two-year education. "This article in the latest issue of TIME makes me so excited!" Leslie Creath, who works at a St. Louis high school, wrote on Facebook. University of Virginia public-policy professor

Sally Hudson tweeted that the story was a "great summary of the challenges that free tuition won't fix." But not everyone was pleased. Tonia L. Payne, an English professor at Nassau Community College in Garden City, N.Y., said her first reaction was "anger" at the story's lack of discussion of such schools' liberal-arts course offerings: "We educate citizens, not just workers: we are concerned for the whole person."

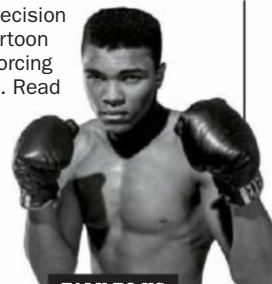
'Our future depends on how well we educate all of our youth not only academically but in vocational training.'

PHYLLIS R. MEADOW, Covina, Calif.

**REDWOODS' RUIN** Decades after a ban on logging California's redwoods, poachers still sneak into parks to hack off the burls of the famous trees. Photographers Gretchen LeMaistre and Kirk Crippens detail the damage in their book *Live Burls*, with images like the one below. See more at [time.com/redwoods](http://time.com/redwoods)



**ALI EXCLUSIVE** TIME got a sneak peek at a letter the legendary boxer Muhammad Ali wrote to his second wife Khalilah Camacho-Ali explaining why he converted to Islam—tracing the decision to a Nation of Islam cartoon of white slaveholders forcing slaves to pray to Jesus. Read the full letter, which appears in the upcoming book *Ali: A Life* by Jonathan Eig, and TIME's interview with Camacho-Ali at [time.com/ali-islam](http://time.com/ali-islam)



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### SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT ▶

In "Family First" (June 12), we mischaracterized Jared Kushner's role in the firing of FBI Director James Comey. He supported the dismissal but did not urge it. In the same issue, we incorrectly characterized the organization of Pennsylvania's community colleges in "The Case for Community College." The Pennsylvania Commission for Community Colleges advocates for two-year schools in the state. As a result of an editing error in the same issue, "The Risk Report" misrepresented the distance between Chile and Venezuela and misstated when Chilean President Michelle Bachelet's term ends. It is March 2018.



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# 'NOW CHINA LEADS.'

EMMANUEL MACRON, President of France, speaking in a May meeting with leaders of the G7 as U.S. President Donald Trump made it clear that America would pull out of the worldwide Paris climate agreement, according to a new account of the meeting published by *Der Spiegel*

# 'Your bravery is our hope.'

SCOOTER BRAUN, Ariana Grande's manager, rallying the crowd at the One Love Manchester benefit concert on June 4, which raised more than \$13 million for the families of those killed and injured during the bombing at Grande's May 22 concert at Manchester Arena

'[It] is a shocking, cowardly crime.'

MALCOLM TURNBULL, Australian Prime Minister, responding to the June 5 attack on a Melbourne apartment complex by a recently paroled man, who reportedly pledged loyalty to ISIS and al-Qaeda; two people were killed, including the gunman

# 'It's like walking up glass.'

ALEX HONNOLD, rock climber, describing what it was like to scale Yosemite's 3,000-ft. El Capitan rock face on June 3 to become the first to ascend the sheer granite without ropes or safety gear



**\$103,300,000**

Amount of money that *Wonder Woman* grossed at the domestic box office during its opening weekend, the **biggest debut ever** for a movie directed by a woman

**600**

Career goals **scored** by Portuguese soccer star **Cristiano Ronaldo**, after he netted two in Real Madrid's 4-1 victory over Juventus in the Champions League final

# 'I KNEW THEM ALL.'

ANANYA VINAY, 12-year-old from Fresno, Calif., reacting to winning the 90th Scripps National Spelling Bee on June 1 by spelling *marocain*, which is a type of fabric

**Sea sponges**  
A *SpongeBob SquarePants* musical will open on Broadway this fall

**GOOD WEEK  
BAD WEEK**

**Seafood**  
The FDA recalled frozen tuna in Texas, Oklahoma and California after a hepatitis A contamination



**13**

Acres of land created in California by a May 20 landslide on the coast near Big Sur



# The Brief

'THE QATAR FIFA WORLD CUP IN 2022 MAY EVEN BE AT RISK.' —PAGE 14



*Grip and grim: President Trump putting the squeeze on former FBI director James Comey*

## JUSTICE

### Donald Trump's loyalty pledge for the FBI challenges the nation

By Massimo Calabresi

FEW THINGS ARE MORE IMPORTANT in a democracy than confidence that the law is applied equally and fairly to all. Which is why the written testimony of former FBI Director James Comey to Congress, released on June 7, was so unsettling. In it, Comey detailed an escalating effort by President Donald Trump to get Comey to pledge his loyalty and to back off elements of the probe into whether members of the Trump campaign team cooperated with Russia during and after the 2016 election.

The difficult relationship between Comey and Trump began during the presidential transition in early January. After a briefing by the country's top intelligence officials on the Russian operation, Comey stayed behind to brief the President-elect alone on "personally

sensitive aspects of the information" the intelligence community had collected, including what Comey called in his testimony "salacious and unverified" allegations about Trump. Comey assured Trump he wasn't a target of an investigation, a fact that Trump's personal attorney later cited as vindication of the President's conduct during the campaign. But Comey felt sufficiently uncomfortable about the conversation to document it afterward in a memo, typed into a laptop as he was driven away from the Trump Tower meeting in New York City. It was a practice Comey would continue in the coming months.

A week after his inauguration, Trump called Comey to a private dinner at the White House, served by two Navy stewards, without anyone

else in the room. Trump said he was considering ordering an investigation of the most salacious claims to reveal them as falsehoods and asked Comey if he wanted to keep his job. “My instincts told me the dinner was, at least in part, an effort to have me ask for my job and create some sort of patronage relationship,” Comey wrote. And indeed moments later, Trump said, “I need loyalty, I expect loyalty.” Comey froze. “I didn’t move, speak or change my facial expression in any way during the awkward silence that followed,” Comey said. “We simply looked at each other in silence.” At the end of the dinner, when Trump again tried to elicit Comey’s loyalty pledge, Comey responded, “You will always get honesty from me.”

Trump again tried to pressure Comey in private in a Feb. 14 meeting in the Oval Office after he dismissed from the room a half-dozen other top advisers at the end of a counterterrorism briefing. Trump had fired his first National Security Adviser, Michael Flynn, the day before for lying about contacts he had had with the Russian ambassador to the U.S. during the transition. Trump asked Comey to “let this go,” which Comey took to mean that the President was “requesting that we drop any investigation of Flynn in connection with false statements about his conversations with the Russian ambassador.” Comey left the meeting rattled and consulted top FBI leadership over how to ensure that Trump’s effort to derail the Flynn investigation didn’t “infect” those working on the probe at the FBI.

Trump wasn’t done. On March 30, Comey testified, Trump called Comey and “described the Russia investigation as ‘a cloud’ that was impairing his ability to act on behalf of the country ... and asked what we could do to ‘lift the cloud.’” Trump asked Comey to “get it out that we weren’t investigating him.” Comey reported the conversation to Acting Deputy Attorney General Dana Boente. In a subsequent phone call on April 11, Trump again asked for help from Comey, who suggested he raise his concerns with the Justice Department. “Because I have been very loyal to you, very loyal; we had that thing you know,” Trump said on the call, according to Comey, who wrote in his statement he did not know what “that thing” was.

Trump fired Comey on May 9, triggering accusations that the President was interfering in the Russia probe. Investigators still don’t know whether members of Trump’s campaign did anything inappropriate or criminal with the Russians. But everyone who cares about the credibility of our democracy should want the FBI to pursue the facts wherever they may lead, unimpeded by the interests of any one person, including a President. □



## TICKER

### NSA contractor charged over leak

Reality Leigh Winner, a federal contractor from Georgia, was charged with leaking top-secret government information on Russian hacking to online news outlet The Intercept. If convicted, the 25-year-old faces up to a decade in prison.

### Operation to free Raqqa begins

The U.S.-backed Syrian Democratic Forces launched an operation to liberate Raqqa, the last major stronghold of ISIS in Syria. The assault follows months of advances in areas surrounding Raqqa, which was seized by ISIS in 2014.

### Orlando man kills 5 former colleagues

A man opened fire at his former place of work near Orlando, fatally shooting five people before turning the gun on himself. John Robert Neumann Jr., 45, had been let go by manufacturer Fiamma in April for undisclosed reasons.

### U.N.: Oceans face historic threat

The world’s oceans are threatened as “never before,” U.N. Secretary-General António Guterres said at a June 5 conference. Guterres highlighted a recent study warning that discarded plastic garbage in ocean water is on track to outweigh fish by 2050.

## WORLD

# South Africa’s graft scandal grows

On June 2, South Africa’s ruling African National Congress (ANC) called for an investigation into leaked documents alleging corrupt influence from business family the Guptas over the administration of President Jacob Zuma. A closer look:



A placard depicting Atul Gupta, right, is seen at an anti-Zuma protest in April

## CAPTURING THE STATE

The cache of more than 100,000 documents allegedly shows the Guptas brokering favors with ministers and lending money to Zuma’s son Duduzane to buy a luxury apartment. The leak supports allegations that the wealthy brothers are using their influence in an act of “state capture,” as South African media call it.

## WEB OF CONNECTIONS

The Guptas’ links to Zuma have long been suspected, but claims have become more numerous. In March 2016, then Deputy Finance Minister Mcebisi Jonas said the family offered to get him promoted. Protests broke out this April after Zuma fired him and his vocally antigraft boss Pravin Gordhan.

## ZUMA’S FUTURE

Both the Guptas and the President have denied allegations of illegal collusion. But the claims threaten to further divide Zuma’s ANC ahead of a December vote to choose his successor as leader. Whomever they choose will determine whether the party of Nelson Mandela can overcome Zuma’s rotten legacy.

## DATA

### BOTTOMS UP

Global consumption of alcoholic drinks fell by 1.3% in 2016, says International Wine and Spirit Research. Here’s which drinks fared better and worse:



**Tequila**  
+5.2%





**WHAT, ME WORRY?** Theunis Wessels mows his lawn at his home in Three Hills, Alberta, as a tornado swirls in the distance on June 2. His wife Cecilia told news agency the Canadian Press that cutting the grass had been on his to-do list. She took the photograph, which went viral online, to show her parents in South Africa. For his part, Theunis said, “I was keeping an eye on it.” *Photograph by Cecilia Wessels—The Canadian Press/AP*



**Gin**  
+3.7%



**Wine**  
-0.1%



**Hard cider**  
-1.5%



**Beer**  
-1.8%

## SPOTLIGHT

### A new face for the Republic of Ireland

IRELAND’S GOVERNING FINE GAEL Party elected Leo Varadkar, 38, as its new leader. If he gains the backing of Parliament on June 13, he will become the country’s first openly gay or mixed-race Prime Minister, underscoring Ireland’s evolution from a conservative Catholic nation to a socially progressive republic. Here’s what to know about him:

**MADE IN IRELAND:** The Dubliner is the son of an Indian doctor and an Irish nurse, and joined the center-right Fine Gael Party in high school. He won his parliamentary seat at the age of 28, while working as a trainee doctor. He revealed he is gay in the run-up to the 2015 same-sex marriage referendum, which the country approved just 22 years after homosexuality was decriminalized.

**RIGHT-LEANING:** Varadkar might be emblematic of a more liberal Ireland, but he espouses broadly conservative views. He launched a crackdown on “welfare cheats” as Minister for Social Protection, is an advocate of free markets and wants Fine Gael to be “a warm house” for those with conservative views on abortion. His views received far more attention in Ireland during the leadership campaign than his sexuality.

**FULL PLATE:** Varadkar’s minority government must now tackle pressing issues of housing, health and homelessness in Ireland. His biggest problem, however, is Britain’s departure from the E.U., which will upend Ireland’s relationship with its closest trading partner and threatens to stir division across the border with Northern Ireland.

—TARA JOHN

*Varadkar is set to become Ireland’s youngest ever leader* ➤





## TICKER

**Witness: Bill Cosby drugged me**

A former employee of Bill Cosby's agent testified in tears that the comedian sexually assaulted her at a hotel in 1996 after encouraging her to take a "big white pill" that made her feel as if she was "underwater." Kelly Johnson had previously told her story under the pseudonym Kacey.

**ISIS claims attacks in Iran that kill 12**

ISIS said it was responsible for gun and suicide-bomb attacks on Iran's parliament and the Tehran-based shrine of Islamic Republic founder Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini. The attacks, which killed at least 12 people and wounded about 40, were the first claimed by ISIS on Iranian soil.

**Flint official quits after racial slur**

A government official in Flint, Mich., resigned from his post after he was recorded using a racial slur to blame African Americans for the city's water crisis. The head of the Genesee County land bank accepted Phil Stair's resignation.

**Gambler kills 37 in Manila casino fire**

A Filipino man who killed at least 37 people when he set fire to a casino in Manila was motivated not by ideology but likely by heavy gambling debts, police said. Jessie Javier Carlos was found dead hours later.

## THE RISK REPORT

## The Qatar rift is the Middle East's 'Trump effect' in action

By Ian Bremmer

AN ALLIANCE OF ARAB COUNTRIES TOOK THE unprecedented step on June 5 of severing all ties with the small Persian Gulf state of Qatar.

Saudi Arabia, Egypt, the United Arab Emirates and Bahrain say they made this move because Qatar provides material support for terrorist groups like the Islamic State and al-Qaeda that threaten the security of the entire region. Qatar flatly denies this claim.

The neighbors have done more than simply dismiss some Qatari diplomats. All have closed air and sea links, and the three Gulf nations have ordered Qatari nationals to go home. Inside Qatar, which sits on a peninsula off Saudi Arabia in the Persian Gulf, the impact has been dramatic. Its stock market fell by more than 7% on the day after the announcement. Shoppers emptied supermarkets in a panic, knowing the country imports about 40% of its food from the Saudis. Over time, growth will fall, inflation will rise, borrowing will become more expensive and Qatari businesses will suffer. The Qatar FIFA World Cup in 2022 may even be at risk.

There's a lot going on beneath the surface of this startling power play. For many years, Qatar has aggravated its larger Gulf neighbors, who blame al-Jazeera, a TV network directed by the Qatari state, for inflaming the Arab Spring, which presented a direct challenge to their governments. Both Crown Prince

Mohammed bin Zayed al-Nahyan of the UAE and the Egyptian government blame Qatar for its support for the Islamist group the Muslim Brotherhood inside their countries.

Most important, the Saudis—and Deputy Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman, in particular—are taking a harder line on Qatar's more nuanced relations with Iran, the Saudis' great rival. The message to Qatar's leaders is simple: Fall in line or we will bury you. They hope to either force Qatari Emir Tamim bin Hamad to abandon the independence of his

foreign policy or to create conditions for a coup inside the country to remove him from power.

Call this the Middle East's "Trump effect." The U.S. President made clear in his visit to Saudi Arabia last month that he sees Iran as the region's

**Trump's support has emboldened Saudi Arabia to reassert leadership in the region—and bring Qatar to heel**

biggest problem and that, in stark contrast to Barack Obama, he backs the Saudis 100%. That emboldens the kingdom to reassert leadership in the region—and to bring adventurist misfits like Qatar to heel.

Will the strategy work? Qatar has little choice but to take its isolation seriously. Despite being home to the largest U.S. military base in the Middle East, the country can't expect much support from its ally even if the emir calls Trump for help. On June 6 the U.S. President tweeted that the diplomatic freeze-out suggested the Saudi visit was "already paying off." □

## TECHNOLOGY

## Roads? Where we're going ...

... we don't need roads. A Toyota-backed startup in Japan is working to develop a flying car called Skydrive, which it hopes will carry a driver to light the Olympic torch in the 2020 Tokyo Games. Here, other initiatives to make *Back to the Future II* a reality. —Kate Samuelson

## UBER

The transportation company is planning to test a program called Uber Elevate, an on-demand network of vertical-takeoff-and-landing electric air taxis for urban areas, as early as 2020.

## KITTY HAWK

A Silicon Valley company backed by Google co-founder Larry Page is working on the Kitty Hawk Flyer, an electric aircraft designed to operate over water and doesn't require a pilot's license to fly.

## AEROMOBIL

Slovakian company AeroMobil's roughly \$1.2 million flying car will begin shipping in 2020. The gas-powered vehicle can be used on the road and in the air, and can fly from London to Paris in one hour.





## Milestones

### DIED

**Jack O'Neill**, pioneering surfer best known for commercializing the neoprene wet suit, at 94.

➤ **Jean Sammet**, early software engineer who became the first female president of the Association for Computing Machinery, at 89.

➤ Former Boston Red Sox outfielder **Jimmy Piersall**, whose nervous breakdown was portrayed in the 1957 movie *Fear Strikes Out*, at 87.

### BORN

Twins Ella and Alexander, to actor **George Clooney** and human-rights lawyer **Amal Alamuddin Clooney**.

### JOINED

NATO, by the tiny Balkan nation **Montenegro**, which became the military alliance's 29th member.

### DECLARED

The end of the **Zika-virus epidemic** in Puerto Rico, termed a public-health emergency there last August.

### LEFT

J.Crew, by its CEO **Mickey Drexler**, who joined the retailer in 2003. Drexler oversaw the company's expansion into a retail titan, but sales have fallen over the past three years.



Wray spent most of his career at the Justice Department

### NOMINATED

## Christopher Wray New FBI director

A MONTH AFTER FIRING FBI DIRECTOR JAMES COMEY for his handling of the Russian election-meddling investigation, President Trump tweeted on June 7 that he would name former Justice Department criminal division chief Christopher Wray to lead the bureau.

After serving as a federal prosecutor in Atlanta in the late 1990s, Wray rose rapidly at Justice Department headquarters in Washington under George W. Bush. From 2003 to 2005 he oversaw the Enron task force and worked directly with then FBI chief Robert Mueller, who now heads the Russia probe as special counsel. A white collar lawyer, he recently defended Trump ally New Jersey Governor Chris Christie in the Bridgegate scandal. At 50, Wray is young for the job and takes over amid accusations of White House interference in the Russia matter and internal discontent over the firing of Comey. —MASSIMO CALABRESI

## FACTS VS. ALTERNATIVE FACTS

### CLAIM

"At least 7 dead and 48 wounded in terror attack and Mayor of London says there is 'no reason to be alarmed!'" President Trump tweeted on June 4.



### REALITY

Mayor Sadiq Khan told Londoners there was no reason to be alarmed by increased police patrols—not the terrorist attacks, which he condemned.

### CLAIM

After the London attacks, Trump called Senate Democrats "obstructionists" for holding up his political nominees, "including ambassadors."

### REALITY

Trump hasn't nominated an ambassador to the U.K. or anyone to fill 426 other federal jobs requiring Senate sign-off. There are 112 open political slots at the State Department.

### CLAIM

Trump said he was closely monitoring what he called "the terrorist attack in Manila" and said "terror" in the world was sad.

### REALITY

Officials say it was a disgruntled gambler who killed 37 people and set gaming tables on fire during an apparent robbery in a Philippines casino and hotel.



### CLAIM

Trump said a reason for withdrawing from the Paris climate deal was that it prevented new U.S. coal plants while allowing China to "build hundreds."

### REALITY

Nothing in the agreement stops new coal-plant construction in the U.S. since the carbon limits are voluntary and self-imposed, and China recently shelved plans for new coal plants.









**LightBox**

## Tipping point

Opposition demonstrators assist injured youths during clashes with riot police in Caracas on May 31. The latest wave of unrest is the greatest challenge to Venezuelan President Nicolás Maduro since he assumed power after the 2013 death of his mentor, Hugo Chávez. Maduro and opposition parties are clashing over legitimacy and the structure of government. At least 65 people have died since April in demonstrations.

Photograph by Federico Parra—  
AFP/Getty Images

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## London strives to remain a place the world will call home

By Dan Stewart/London

EVERY WEEKEND, BOROUGH MARKET fills with Londoners and tourists eager to stock up on everything from Italian licorice and Egyptian *koshari* to Caribbean spices and Balkan pastries. It's a hub for food lovers, where languages and smells dance upon the air.

On June 3, three men ran amok here. In eight minutes they killed eight people, by vehicle on London Bridge and with knives inside the market, before armed police brought them down. The victims were British, Australian, Canadian, Spanish, French—and Londoners. It was an assault on the heart of an international city, where a third of nearly 9 million residents come from overseas.

The attackers were Londoners too. One previously worked for the city's transit authority, an East Londoner born in Pakistan. Another was a son of an Italian and a Moroccan, and had reportedly done seasonal work in a restaurant here.

But they weren't the Londoners we were talking about after the attacks, in our offices and pubs. Instead, we

preferred to toast the unknown man photographed fleeing the terror with a full pint glass in his hand and a drunken grin on his face. To marvel at the soccer fan stabbed eight times as he set upon the attackers outside a Borough Market pub, shouting the name of his London team. To mourn the nurse who lost her life running toward the mayhem on London Bridge instead of away from it, to help others.

I wrote recently in *TIME* that the attack that killed 22 people in Manchester on May 22 came at a turning point for the United Kingdom, at a moment when we're trying to figure out what kind of country we want to become—not just in the flash heat of the June 8 general election, but in the rising temperature of our departure from the E.U., due in 2019.

London stands at the same crossroads. Having overwhelmingly voted to remain within the E.U. in 2016, it is now preparing to leave it along with the rest of the country. Led by Mayor Sadiq Khan—a Londoner of Pakistani heritage, and a practicing Muslim—it is striving to remain a city the world can call home.

That challenge isn't simply one of access to financial markets and skilled workers. London is staggeringly unaffordable to all but the upper middle class, and its housing shortage has driven young people away into

the suburbs. The average house price in the capital has risen 421% since 1997, compared with a 74% increase in median salary. Over 2 million of us live under the poverty line, many in East London boroughs like Barking and Dagenham, and Newham, where one of the London Bridge attackers lived. Inequality of income and opportunity has bred anger and distrust, and worse.

But to see what binds us together, just look to what these attacks have revealed about the kind of country we are and the type of people who live in the cities we have built for ourselves. We are unshakably resolute, unwilling to give in to fear or panic and reliably able to find humor and kinship even in the darkest moments.

It's clear that changes will come—especially in how we defend ourselves from what Prime Minister Theresa May on June 4 described as a “new trend” of threat after three terrorist attacks in the space of three months. We in Britain will need to demand answers of ourselves on the question of what turns young men to these acts of hatred. We may not like what we find.

But nevertheless that spirit will endure, beyond political seasons and despite what attacks may yet come. And before the summer is done, Borough Market will again surge with foodies, tipplers and globetrotters seeking a taste of something new. □

Londoners gathered at the city's Potters Fields Park on June 5 for a vigil to the victims of the London Bridge attack





# The View

'IF YOU ARE A CARD-CARRYING WEIRDO ... IT'S AN ASSET.' —PAGE 20



*Earnest, uplifting memes have surged in popularity since the 2016 election*

## TECHNOLOGY

### How the Internet is getting a little nicer, one meme at a time

By Lisa Eadicicco

LATE LAST YEAR A PHOTO OF A forlorn-looking Kermit the Frog began circulating on Twitter. With his knees tucked to his chest, head hung low, the scene invited the kind of mocking irreverence that has come to define much of Internet culture. “When you show people a movie you love AND THEY DON’T PAY ATTENTION,” read one caption. “When ‘All I Want for Christmas Is You’ is playing and you realize that no one wants you for Christmas,” read another.

But Jonathan Sun, a doctoral student at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, was determined to change the narrative. As someone who had struggled with depression and anxiety, he saw himself in Sad Kermit and sensed that others might too. So Sun, who goes by @JonnySun

on Twitter, challenged his more than 400,000 followers to turn a virtual punch line into a symbol of hope. They quickly obliged. “When you remember how much someone loves you,” read one caption. “When you’re so proud of how far you have come, and excited for how far you have to go,” read another.

“I make memes to explain my own feelings,” says Sun. “And the fact that [this challenge] resonated with other people—I think it made all of us feel a little less lonely.”

This is not the narrative we typically hear about Internet memes, those wildly popular text-photo mashups that are often used to make situational jokes (think a photo of a paranoid-looking parrot with the caption “Finished test first. What did

I do wrong?") but have lately been associated with hatred and bigotry. On June 4 news broke that Harvard rescinded at least 10 admissions offers after students were caught sharing memes that allegedly poked fun at child abuse, sexual assault and minority groups. And last year the Anti-Defamation League declared Pepe the Frog—a fringe comic-book character—a “hate symbol” after alt-right extremists started modifying his likeness with swastikas and Hitler mustaches.

But in recent months, interest has surged in so-called wholesome memes, which aim to promote earnest messages of empowerment. There are now hundreds spreading across Twitter, Facebook, Tumblr, Instagram and Reddit, whose “Wholesome Memes” forum has attracted more than half a million subscribers since its September launch. Among the best examples: a photo of SpongeBob SquarePants shouting at Squidward, overlaid with the text I LOVE MY FRIENDS THEY HELP ME BECOME A BETTER PERSON and a photo of the wrestler Stone Cold Steve Austin chugging beer, except the beer is labeled RESPECT WOMEN JUICE and Austin is labeled ME.

This newfound interest in uplifting memes is a direct response to the negativity of the 2016 presidential election, much of which played out online. For most of the past year, many people’s social-media feeds have been filled with vicious—and often misleading—commentary about partisan politics. “A lot of that has made the consumption of more positive emotions desirable,” says Dr. Pamela Rutledge, director of the nonprofit Media Psychology Research Center. “We’re self-medicating in a good way.” Reddit CEO Steve Huffman agrees. “[Our platform] is very much a reflection of what’s going on in the world,” he says. “And when people are tired of being angry about politics, you see that play out as well.”

Of course, there are still plenty of angry people on the Internet, and the culture of hate isn’t going to change overnight. But wholesome memes may resonate on a grander scale by virtue of being, well, memes: pieces of content that change and evolve as more people try to make them relatable. “It’s this sense of somebody else gets it,” says Goal Auzeen Saedi, an Oregon-based clinical psychologist who recently used a wholesome meme to motivate a teenage patient to try exercise as a coping mechanism. (It was a drawing of a woman holding a yoga pose, with text that read, “I really regret going to yoga today ... said no one ever.”)

In any case, Huffman says he hopes wholesome memes continue to spread—and not just because they’re driving traffic to Reddit. “Most people just want to get along,” he says. “We don’t have to be angry all the time.”

#### VERBATIM

**‘That’s where I look to the fellas around the room and say ... “Are you really ready to have women at the table? Then make room.”’**

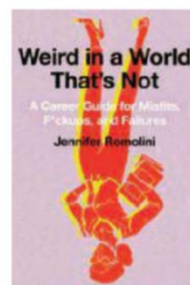
MICHELLE OBAMA, former U.S. First Lady, speaking at an Apple event June 6 about the need for more women leaders in technology



#### BOOK IN BRIEF

### The perks of being weird in the workplace

“FOR A LONG TIME,” JENNIFER Romolini writes, “I was pretty sure I would never make it in the world, that I would never become ‘successful.’” The reason: she was just too weird, too sensitive, too far outside the realm of mainstream office culture. But the former editor of HelloGiggles and Yahoo Shine did eventually succeed, and in her new book, *Weird in a World That’s Not*, she offers several tips to help fellow misfits climb the corporate ladder. If you’re socially awkward, she writes, try over-preparing for even the most mundane workplace situations—rehearsing compliments for small talk with co-workers, for example, or writing scripts for major meetings. Romolini also advises turning weirdness into an asset, as she did: when yoga became a fad in New York City, she drew upon her unusual new-age upbringing to corner the beat as a freelancer, which soon landed her a full-time job. “If you are a card-carrying weirdo,” she writes, “[it’s] not a detriment, it’s an asset.” —SARAH BEGLEY



#### CHARTOON

### Future phones



JOHN ATKINSON, WRONG HANDS



## BIG IDEA

# The cheap(er) private jet

Private-jet ownership has long been the domain of the ultrawealthy, with costs running into the tens of millions of dollars even before the crew and fuel are factored in. A new jet from aircraftmaker Cirrus could change that. Starting at just under \$2 million, the Cirrus Vision Jet is a single-engine private jet designed to be flown by its owner, not a professional pilot, with some training and an assist from advanced computer systems. And if there's an emergency, a special parachute system can carry the jet to a gentle touchdown. "It is truly by design a personal transportation machine," says Dave Rathbun, the jet's chief engineer. —Alex Fitzpatrick



## HISTORY

# The birth of America's flag obsession

FLAG DAY MIGHT OFFICIALLY BE ON JUNE 14, but for many Americans it's a year-round celebration. Look no further than the countless hats, towels, bumper stickers and other paraphernalia that have been emblazoned with Stars and Stripes; recently, one Omaha teen made headlines for creating a flag out of more than 680,000 plastic bricks.

This wasn't always the case. Most Americans used to see a flag as little more than a utilitarian marker for government buildings and military outposts. After the U.S. approved its flag design in 1777, it took nearly a century for civilians to get excited about the idea.

The turning point came in 1861, when the Civil War began. Suddenly, the flag—a military symbol of the Union—gained a new level of importance. "It has been said that when the flag came down in Fort Sumter, it

went up everywhere in the North—almost like magic," says Marc Leepson, author of *Flag: An American Biography*.

When the war ended, the flag became a symbol of the reconciliation effort. And thanks in part to advances in color printing and mass production, it increasingly began appearing on national products and advertisements. (Early flag-protection regulations were created only after its image started appearing on beer and whiskey bottles.) This groundswell of Stars and Stripes support was bolstered by the 1931 selection of "The Star-Spangled Banner" as the national anthem and through the 1970s adoption of the flag lapel pin by politicians. Today that fervor shows no sign of flagging. —OLIVIA B. WAXMAN

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## DATA THIS JUST IN

A roundup of new and noteworthy insights from the week's most talked-about studies:

1

### INSTAGRAM IS THE MOST STRESS-INDUCING SOCIAL NETWORK

After surveying nearly 1,500 young people about their social-media use, the United Kingdom's Royal Society for Public Health found that Instagram was the worst platform for their health and well-being, associated with bullying, sleep loss, body-image issues, anxiety and a fear of missing out.

2

### IT'S FINE TO WASH YOUR HANDS IN COLD WATER

A small study in the *Journal of Food Protection* found that washing hands in cold, lukewarm and hot water removed bacteria equally well, despite the fact that hot water is commonly believed to be better at killing germs.

3

### YOU DON'T NEED MUCH EXERCISE TO FEEL BETTER

A study in the *Journal of Health Psychology* found that light physical activity (like strolling) was associated with the greatest emotional benefits, over high-intensity workouts.

—Julia Zorthian

Nation

# The SUITE

PHOTOGRAPHS BY CHRISTOPHER MORRIS FOR TIME



# of **POWER**

**WHY DONALD TRUMP'S  
WASHINGTON HOTEL IS  
THE CAPITAL'S NEW SWAMP**

*By Alex Altman*



*A room at the Trump  
International Hotel  
in Washington, D.C.,  
which opened in the  
fall of 2016*

*At the hotel's BLT Prime, Trump  
orders the New York strip steak—  
with ketchup*



At the bar of the Trump International Hotel in Washington, you can order a crystal spoonful of Hungarian wine for \$140. Cocktails run from \$23 for a gin and tonic to \$100 for a vodka concoction with raw oysters and caviar. There's a seafood pyramid called "the Trump Tower" that costs \$120, or you can hit BLT Prime, a restaurant where the \$59 salt-aged Kansas City strip steak comes with a long-shot chance of seeing the President sitting nearby. It's the only restaurant in town where he has dined.



If the urge to shop strikes, there's a Brioni boutique in one corner that offers the same Italian suits the President favors, starting at a few thousand a pop. Downstairs, a 90-minute couples massage at the Spa by Ivanka Trump will set you back \$460—roughly the rack rate for a recent night in a standard room, where the Trump brand adorns everything from the shampoo bottles to the wine in the minibar.

People pay these prices for more than just booze, caviar and back rubs. This is the new town square in Donald Trump's Washington. Tourists perch on the blue velvet sofas in the lobby, snapping cell-phone pictures as power players stream across the dark marble floors and cream carpets: international business-





men, Republican operatives, wealthy donors, foreign diplomats, former Trump campaign aides, the occasional Administration official.

That's partly because a President who once promised to "drain the swamp" of influence peddling now owns the city's newest bog. According to Trump's 2016 financial-disclosure statement, he owned a 76.7% stake in the limited-liability company that controls the hotel, which is now headed by his son Donald Jr. The place has been a magnet for the capital's political class. "Of course we hang out there," says a former Trump campaign adviser. "Everyone hangs out there. Being in the Trump hotel's lobby is a way to get people to know you."

The potential conflicts of interest are dizzying. In the soaring atrium, guests kibitz under a massive U.S. flag—a gift on loan from the Heritage Foundation, the conservative think tank that helps shape Administration policy and that thanked top donors by bankrolling a December gala here keyed by then incoming Vice President Mike Pence. For Trump's Inauguration, guests willing to fork over the steep fees could mingle with top federal officials. One VIP package, which offered lodging in a 6,300-sq.-ft. townhouse suite—two floors overlooking Pennsylvania Avenue, accessed through a discreet wooden door—was advertised for \$500,000. The President invited members of Congress to lunch in the ball-

^  
Guests can order pricey cocktails and mix with Washington power brokers at the hotel's bar



room. “It’s an absolutely stunning hotel,” press secretary Sean Spicer told reporters on Jan. 19. “I encourage you to go there if you haven’t been by.”

Foreign governments seem particularly keen to patronize Trump’s property. Between Oct. 1 and March 31, lobbyists working on behalf of the kingdom of Saudi Arabia ran up a \$270,000 tab on rooms, catering and parking, according to foreign lobbying disclosures filed at the end of May and first reported by the Daily Caller. That stretch coincided with a Saudi lobbying push against legislation that would allow victims of terrorist attacks to sue foreign governments. In May, Trump chose Riyadh as his first foreign stop as President, where he announced an arms deal, gave a major foreign policy speech and participated in a traditional ceremonial sword dance.

In December, diplomats from Bahrain shifted that country’s National Day festivities to Trump International’s gilded, 13,000-sq.-ft. presidential ballroom. As if on cue, Kuwait moved its own annual gala in February from the Four Seasons across town to Trump International—even though the former location had already been reserved. The embassy of Azerbaijan co-hosted a Hanukkah party in the hotel’s elegant Lincoln Library, with a roster of guests that included Russian Ambassador Sergey Kislyak, who has become notorious this spring for meeting with several Trump Administration officials. “You know, successful people own things,” Azerbaijani Ambassador Elin Suleymanov tells TIME. “That is a natural thing.”

One longtime Republican power broker summed up the role the hotel is playing in Trump’s Washington: “It is a magnet for unsophisticated foreign governments and companies to offer tribute. It does not work, but it is perceived as a path to influence.”

Yet domestic groups have found reasons to do business there as well. Last year, evangelist Franklin Graham planned a global conference on Christian persecution at the Mayflower Hotel for this May. Two months after Trump was inaugurated, Graham decided to add a closing banquet at Trump International, where he also reserved rooms for select guests, which meant ferrying them between hotels in a fleet of black SUVs.

Among the guests was a delegation from Moscow headed by Metropolitan Hilarion Alfeyev, a top cleric of the Russian Orthodox Church and a close ally of Vladimir Putin, who met during the conference with Pence. A spokesperson

*The Old Post Office Pavilion, now the Trump International Hotel, is the second tallest building in D.C., after the Washington Monument*



for Graham said neither the Mayflower nor a nearby Hilton could accommodate the banquet, and up to 40 rooms came as part of the package.

Not everyone found the fancy digs necessary. “We didn’t have to stay there,” Ignatius Aphrem II, patriarch of the Syrian Orthodox Church in Damascus, told TIME. Speaking of Graham’s organization, he added, “Maybe they have special arrangements. Maybe they are friends of the President.”





**IN THE PAST,** Presidents have often gone to great lengths to assure the public that they aren't mixing the nation's business with their own. Many of Trump's predecessors voluntarily divested their business assets or placed them in a blind trust administered by an independent third party, to avoid both conflicts of interest and the appearance of them. Trump has taken a different approach. He has stepped away from the operations of his business, but he has not relinquished ownership. Critics say the approach falls far short. "He is one great big example of exploiting public office for private gain," says Kathleen Clark, a law professor at Washington University in St. Louis, who trains governments around the world in ethics and anticorruption practices. "Of course it's a scandal."

Which doesn't mean it's illegal. Trump does not seem bothered by the appearance of conflicts, often doing his public business in his private holdings. During the campaign, Trump visited his properties across the U.S. as well as his golf courses in Scotland. He used televised campaign events to promote Trump products, including bottled water and wine. As President, he decamps on many weekends for his golf courses in Virginia and New Jersey, trips that guarantee free publicity from the press corps. He took Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe and Chinese President Xi Jinping on separate trips to his Florida estate, Mar-a-Lago, where the club entry fee doubled after his election, to \$200,000.

Trump denies any impropriety. "The law's totally on my side," he said in November. "The President can't have a conflict of interest." Or rather, as his lawyers point out, as President he is not subject to federal conflict-of-interest laws, which offer broad latitude for the Commander in Chief. And his sprawling business empire was front and center on the campaign trail, with aides highlighting a track record of delivering projects under budget and ahead of schedule.

To address concerns, Trump announced in January that he would hand control of his business empire to his two adult sons and a trustee, halt all new foreign deals, terminate some pending ones and wall himself off from company decisions. Because the emoluments clause of the Constitution bans most transac-

tions between government officials and foreign governments, the Trump Organization pledged to donate its profits from foreign governments to the U.S. Treasury. "President-elect Trump should not be expected to destroy the company he built," said his lawyer Sheri Dillon. "This plan offers a suitable alternative to address the concerns of the American people."

The firewall between the Trump presidency and the Trump Organization has turned out to be less than airtight. His sons have participated in political meetings and are sought-after speakers at

'He is one great big example of exploiting public office for private gain. Of course it's a scandal.'

—KATHLEEN CLARK, professor of law, Washington University in St. Louis

Republican functions across the U.S. Eric Trump's wife Lara is employed by the digital firm working for Trump's re-election campaign. Meanwhile, the company, according to internal documents released in May by Democrats in Congress, has since determined that it is not practical to segregate all foreign sources of income, arguing that such an effort would not "even be possible without an inordinate amount of time, resources and specialists." The donation will be made on an annual basis at the end of each calendar year, according to a Trump Organization spokesperson. It's unclear who would ensure that the company complies with its pledge.

In response to the unusual arrangements, multiple groups have filed civil lawsuits against Trump, aiming to force the courts to step in. Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington (CREW), a progressive watchdog group, filed suit alleging that he has violated the Constitution by accepting emoluments.

Cork Wine Bar, a D.C. restaurant, filed another suit that claims Trump's stake in the hotel's restaurants gives it an unfair competitive advantage in the city's fine-dining market. House and Senate Democrats are also planning to sue Trump to stop emoluments violations, according to Politico, arguing that he is breaking the law by continuing to profit from his businesses while serving as President.

**THE STORY** of Trump and the Old Post Office Pavilion is a tale of grand ambition, outsize promises and a complex deal that left a trail of criticism. Built in the 1890s, it is the capital's second tallest structure, a landmark of gray granite and steel girders with a glass atrium and an iconic clock tower that overlooks Pennsylvania Avenue and the Mall. Over the years, it had become an aging orphan nobody wanted, scheduled for demolition several times over the past century, only to be spared by preservationists.

With a nudge from Congress, the General Services Administration (GSA), began soliciting bids in 2011 from private companies looking to redevelop the building. Trump put together an appealing proposal, promising to pump some \$200 million into a renovation and partnering with a venerable D.C. architect who had worked for years to save the building. Trump lined up financing from Colony Capital, a major developer run by his close friend and future inaugural committee chairman, Tom Barrack. And he promised to pay the federal government \$3 million annually in rent for 60 years. GSA picked Trump from a crowded group of bidders, including such hotel chains as Hilton and Hyatt.

The promises began to unravel. The architect, Arthur Cotton Moore, dropped off the project. The financing partner fell through. Once work got under way, the Trumps quietly reneged on commitments to preserve historic features, from the lighting scheme to the wall trim, according to a person closely involved. The Trump Organization denies that charge. "Throughout the revival process and restoration of this iconic asset, we worked tirelessly to maintain the integrity and storied history of the original landmark building," said a spokesperson for the organization. "We worked meticulously with the GSA and a team of consultants

## TRUMP OVERSEAS

The President has licensed the Trump name for use on commercial and residential buildings around the globe, bringing in millions of dollars to the Trump Organization. But many of those deals face increased scrutiny with Trump in office



### TRUMP TOWERS ISTANBUL

The President's company doesn't own this Turkish office and residential complex, but it allows his name to be used by owner Dogan Holding, which reportedly paid \$1 million to \$5 million for the rights



### TRUMP INTERNATIONAL HOTEL AND TOWER PANAMA

When this 70-story hotel and condominium opened, expected licensing fees were reportedly worth \$75 million



### TRUMP TOWER MANILA

This \$150 million residential tower, set to open this year, attracted attention after a chief executive behind the tower was named a Philippine envoy to the U.S.

—Josh Sanburn

on the historic preservation and are incredibly proud of the extreme attention to detail that we paid."

But the biggest complication was still to come. The 263-room hotel opened in the fall of 2016. A few weeks later, Trump won the White House, making him, if somewhat indirectly, both landlord and tenant of a valuable government property. His contract with GSA, the federal agency that administers the lease, explicitly forbids elected officials from being admitted to "any share or part of this lease, or to any benefit that may arise therefrom."

And so, shortly after the election, congressional Democrats summoned a GSA official for a briefing about how it would handle the situation. During the meeting in the Rayburn Building on Capitol Hill, the GSA official said the agency had concluded that Trump would be in breach of contract upon Inauguration, according to a letter signed by four House Democrats and confirmed by two other people present.

But when Trump took office, the GSA went mum on the matter. On March 23, Kevin Terry, the GSA contracting officer responsible for the deal with Trump, clarified the agency's position, declaring the President to be in "full compliance" with the lease. There is no evidence Trump or anyone in his Administration pressed GSA about the arrangement. But critics say the fact that the President has the power to appoint and remove the head of the agency may have influenced the move. And while members of Congress have pressed GSA for more information about the decision, it lacks the power to reverse it. (Terry referred questions to a GSA press representative, who declined an interview, asked that TIME supply written questions and then never responded to them.)

**IN THE BEGINNING**, business at the hotel was sluggish. During its first two months of operation, September and October 2016, Trump International lost more than \$1.1 million, according to a letter from a group of House Democrats to the acting GSA administrator. But such struggles faded after the election. At happy hour, the lobby bar fills with guests nibbling charcuterie and sipping Trump-branded rosé beneath flat screens tuned to Fox



News. Patricia Tang, director of sales and marketing, said the hotel's ownership hasn't affected its bottom line. "The whole situation has been neutral," says Tang, an industry veteran. "You win, you lose. The result is we're doing fine."

In late May, Tang took TIME on a tour of the hotel's gilded spaces, from the townhouse suite—replete with a gym and private dining room—to the ballroom where workmen were breaking down the remnants of a wedding. Privacy is part of the package, she noted. There are no public boards listing the day's conclaves, and there are separate entrances for VIPs. As a policy, the hotel doesn't reveal who has held events or booked accommodations.

Of course, governments looking to pay tribute to the American President need





^  
*The heart of the hotel is a nine-story atrium under a skylight*

not come to Washington to do it. According to his financial disclosure report, the President appears to own or control more than 500 businesses in countries ranging from India to Indonesia. “The hotel,” says Richard Painter, a University of Minnesota law professor who served as President George W. Bush’s ethics lawyer and is part of the CREW lawsuit, “is really just a tip of the iceberg.”

Some of the President’s foreign holdings are in countries that may test the lines between his business interests and his role as Commander in Chief. Trump

licensed his name to a 57-story luxury residential tower in Manila, set to open later this year. The head of the company that built it has been named a special trade envoy to the U.S. by Philippine President Rodrigo Duterte. In the President’s flagship building on Manhattan’s Fifth Avenue, one of the biggest tenants is a state-owned Chinese bank, whose lease is up for renewal in 2019. Last year, after Trump made incendiary comments about Muslims on the campaign trail, Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan called for Trump’s name to be stripped from a pair of towers in Istanbul’s business district. Erdogan later backed off, and Trump has since praised his counterpart despite the autocrat’s crackdown on dissidents and democratic institutions.

According to his financial disclosure report, Trump earned up to \$5 million from the project. “I have a little conflict of interest,” Trump told his future White House strategist Stephen Bannon during a 2015 radio interview, “‘cause I have a major, major building in Istanbul.”

As its hotel in Washington flourishes, the Trump Organization is working to find new ways to extend the brand. On June 5, it unveiled a new midscale hotel chain, under the patriotic name of American Idea. It plans to debut it in Mississippi. The target demographic includes some of the same voters who lifted the President into the White House. —*With reporting by* TESSA BERENSON, ELIZABETH DIAS, HALEY EDWARDS, PHILIP ELLIOTT and ZEKE J. MILLER/WASHINGTON





# Putin's Children

The generation born under Russia's President is railing at how members of his circle have enriched themselves and their kids

BY SIMON SHUSTER/BIARRITZ, FRANCE, AND  
ALEC LUHN/MOSCOW





*Young Russians took part in a wave of anti-corruption protests across the country during the last weekend of March*

Mikhail Ogorodnikov hadn't been planning to speak at the rally until someone handed him a megaphone.

It was a cold day in March in the Russian city of Vladimir, with dirty snow still stiff on the ground, and many in the crowd in front of Ogorodnikov were roughly his age, 16. As he gathered his thoughts, a strange fact occurred to him: the man they were rallying against, Russian President Vladimir Putin, has been in power longer than most of them had been alive. “For the past 17 years, this man has been robbing the country I love,” he shouted into the bullhorn. “He doesn’t want this country to thrive. He only wants success for himself and his oligarchs.”

The crowd started cheering, as much for the messenger as for his message. Born in 2000, the year the President first came to power, Ogorodnikov represents a generation that Russians have taken to calling “Putin’s children.” Over the past few years, their political voice has grown louder as the young have grown old enough to vote, run for office and demand a change of leadership.

But few expected that voice to break so suddenly. On March 26, almost exactly a year before Putin is due to stand for another term as President—his fourth—a wave of dissent showed Russia how badly his authority has aged. While Ogorodnikov addressed the crowd in Vladimir, thousands of his peers in more than 80 towns and cities joined a series of anticorruption rallies that swept across Russia’s 11 time zones that day.

## HEIRS TO THE PRESIDENT



Putin's family members, including his younger daughter and reported son-in-law (left) and ex-wife (right) have been linked to these oceanside villas on the Basque coast of France ...



Putin could ill afford the distraction: he was scheduled to meet with leaders of Iran that week to discuss their alliance in the war in Syria, while in Washington, close aides of President Donald Trump's were preparing to testify before a Senate hearing on Russia's alleged meddling in the U.S. presidential election. So the homegrown revolt caught the Kremlin off guard, and its reaction was a knee-jerk crackdown. Riot police beat up dozens of protesters on March 26; in Moscow alone, more than a thousand of them were detained, including 92 minors.

The organizer of the rallies, Alexei Navalny, was also arrested, and it shocked him to see the jailhouse packed with kids. "These young people are getting into politics," says the activist. "And there hasn't been a student protest movement in Russia in many years, not since 1985." That was when a youth culture hungry for change started pressuring the Soviet Union to open up, reform itself and, ultimately, break apart.

But the new generation of Russians is different. What angers them is not isolation or communist dogma but the greed of Russia's ruling classes—the generals and technocrats who have enriched themselves under Putin's rule. Nearly two decades into this age of plunder, its spoils are passing to a new generation of elites, and the rigged system is renewing itself. Nowhere is that more apparent than in the murky financial dealings of Putin's friends, and even his family members, who live lives of opulence that are re-

served for the well-connected. With fortunes stashed in Switzerland and yachts moored in the Mediterranean, this new nobility prefers to summer on the beaches of France, where TIME found the habits of Putin's circle to be an open secret. Back home in Russia, the children of the Putin era are waking up to this reality—and they are starting to resist it.

**THE ARRIVAL** of this new movement could not have come at a better time for Navalny. Having started around 2007 as a right-wing crusader against corruption and illegal immigration, the 41-year-old lawyer from Maryino, a shabby district on the edge of Moscow, has evolved into a political force with a massive following. He intends to challenge Putin for the presidency in March 2018. With no access to the state-run media and no real chance of winning the vote, his campaign has increasingly relied on street protests to amplify its message.

After his release from jail in early April, Navalny called for another wave of demonstrations, to be held on June 12, a patriotic holiday known as Russia Day. The authorities showed signs of panic as that date grew closer. A presidential decree issued on May 10 banned all public gatherings from taking place in June without permission from the state security service. And the Russian National Guard, a new police force Putin created last year to help "maintain social order," announced in May that its ranks had roughly doubled in size and would

begin monitoring social media for signs of "extremism."

Across the country, teachers have started holding "prophylactic lectures" to warn students away from Navalny and his rallies. The state university in Vladimir screened a video comparing him to Adolf Hitler. And a professor at Tomsk State University was recorded giving his classroom a bizarre lesson in civics: "If the state has no corruption," he said, "it means the state is useless." When a student objected that corruption amounts to stealing, the professor shot back, "There's stealing everywhere!"

On that point, at least, the professor was right. During Putin's time in office, graft in Russia has reached the levels of a third-world kleptocracy. In the yearly Corruption Perceptions Index issued by Transparency International, Russia ranks 131 out of 176 countries, below Honduras and Sierra Leone. The total value of bribes paid in Russia last year, according to official police statistics, topped \$5 billion.

Putin knows this. But for all the craftiness that Western officials ascribe to his foreign policy—from the alleged Russian hacking of elections in the U.S. and Europe to Putin's military campaigns in Ukraine and Syria—he has never been able to curtail the appetites of his own bureaucracy. "Putin's whole system of management is based on the sale of loyalty," says Gleb Pavlovsky, who served as an adviser to the President between 2000 and 2011. "In exchange for loyalty, you are allowed to take from the state budget."





... fueling a Russian student movement led by the activist Alexei Navalny (left), who was attacked in March with a noxious disinfectant

The flaw in this system is obvious: it leaves the majority of Russians on the outside looking in. And once in a while they get angry. During Putin's last campaign for re-election, in 2012, street protests broke out in Russian cities, swelled by middle-class and middle-aged voters who demanded fair elections and the rule of law. With the power of state propaganda and the judicial system at his side, it took Putin less than a year to intimidate, co-opt or otherwise silence those protesters. What remained of their movement was soon buried beneath a surge of patriotism engendered by Putin's decision in 2014 to invade and annex the region of Crimea from Ukraine.

The teenagers protesting now in Russia's provinces may be harder for the Kremlin to subdue. Unlike their elders, they don't rely on state-run television for their information. Their picture of the world is formed on YouTube, Facebook and other social media, and their generation is too young to remember the post-Soviet chaos that Putin's mythmakers credit him for bringing to an end.

What they have experienced, like all Russians, is the fallout from corruption: the awful roads and underfunded schools in their neighborhoods; the teachers who sell grades for cash; the kids who get the best jobs, thanks to their parents' connections. The Putin years, which their parents prize for their stability, seem more like an age of stagnation to them, with just one man's face at the top of the news for as long as they can remember.

On social networks, the news in Russia looks very different. Tales of nepotism and official abuse go viral fast, and Navalny's video blog—a compendium of clips about the wealth of the Kremlin elite—has become a clearinghouse for such material, all catered to millennials with a mix of sarcasm, humor and pop-culture references. Along with goofy memes and sound effects, its episodes show drone footage of luxury villas and documents linking them to Putin's friends.

No one is spared. In early March, Navalny released a 50-minute video about Putin protégé Prime Minister Dmitri Medvedev, alleging that he indirectly controls an enormous fortune, including a private vineyard in Italy, a ski chalet and mansions in Russia, offshore bank accounts and two yachts. Medvedev dismissed the film as a “fruit punch” of lies and innuendo. But its reach has been massive: more than 20 million people have watched the film on YouTube—enough to rival the audience of the Kremlin's propaganda outlets.

“It was a completely different view of the world and of politics in Russia,” says Yegor Kazarinov, a 20-year-old student in Vladimir who, like many of his peers, joined the protest movement after watching that film. “I checked a few of the facts, watched a few more videos, and I understood it's not an isolated incident. It's the system.”

Nothing poses more of a threat to Putin at home than this sort of digital political awakening. His hold on power

relies on control of virtually all mass media in Russia, but the Internet has been gradually eroding that control for years. Although Navalny is barred from appearing on state-run television, his investigations are ubiquitous on Russian news feeds. His targets have even begun responding in kind; one of the billionaires Navalny has accused of bribery posted his denials on YouTube. “I spit on you, Alexei Navalny,” the tycoon, Alisher Usmanov, said in one of the clips.

But Putin is the ultimate target, and the most difficult one. “He's the czar of corruption,” Navalny tells *TIME*, “and the czar of corruption owns everything and nothing.” After years of investigating Putin's wealth, Navalny believes that most of it is held through a web of shell companies controlled by the President's friends and relatives. Numerous leaks and whistle-blowers have given credence to the theory that Putin has access to billions of dollars.

Yet evidence directly linking Putin to a hidden fortune remains undiscovered, and his spokesman routinely denies that any such fortune exists. The image he has cultivated for nearly two decades is that of a selfless ascetic, a patriot who works “like a galley slave,” as Putin once described himself, and abstains from the luxuries that most of his countrymen cannot afford.

In his official declaration of wealth, the President admits to owning a small plot of land, two modest apartments, three cars and an old-fashioned tent trailer known

as a Skif, which was once popular among Soviet holiday makers. In a TV documentary marking Putin's 60th birthday in 2012, Russian viewers got a glimpse of his residence, and from the contents of his refrigerator—a bottle of ketchup, a carton of buttermilk—one might have worried that the President risked malnutrition. Even his holiday destinations underline his modesty: the wild expanses of Siberia and the Russian Arctic, and the sleepy resort of Sochi on the Black Sea.

His friends and family, by contrast, enjoy the sunnier corners of Europe, in particular the Basque country in western France. That's where TIME found evidence of the lifestyle that Putin affords himself and his loved ones.

**NESTLED BETWEEN** the vineyards of Bordeaux and the Spanish marinas of San Sebastián, the French resort of Biarritz has attracted wealthy Russian visitors since the middle of the 19th century. Members of the Russian imperial court used to come for the climate and the pampering to be found at the Hôtel du Palais, a former palace built in the 1850s.

With the emergence of a new Russian elite over the past two decades, Biarritz has seen a revival of that tradition, partly thanks to its unusual place in the history of the Putin family. In the summer of 1999, when Putin was serving as chief of Russia's main intelligence agency, his holiday in Biarritz with his wife and daughters was interrupted by an urgent message from the Kremlin: President Boris Yeltsin had chosen the young spy-master as his successor. Cutting his vacation short, Putin returned to Moscow to accept the offer. The following year, one of Putin's first presidential decrees granted Yeltsin and his family immunity from prosecution, ensuring that no corruption probes could ever strip the Yeltsins of their wealth.

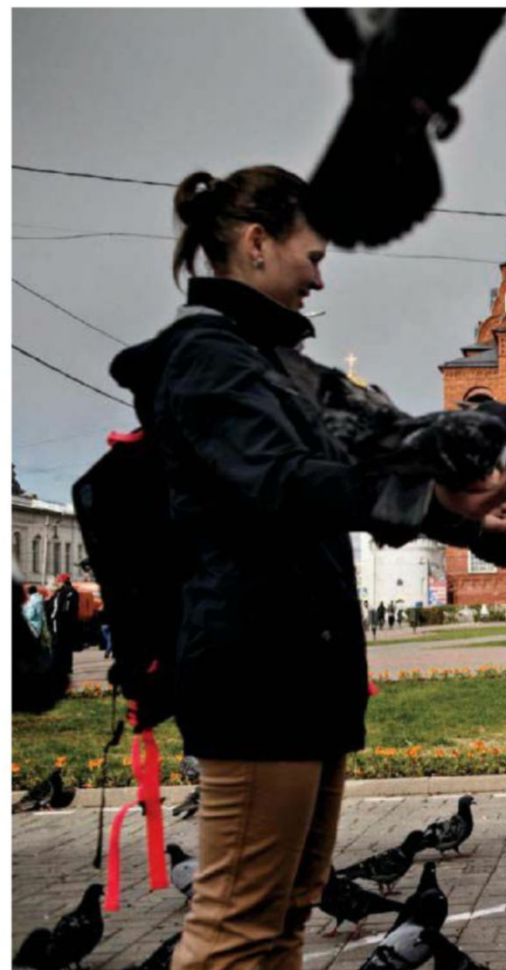
At around the same time, Russia took the unusual step of appointing an honorary consul in Biarritz, a town of less than 30,000 people; the nearby cities of Bordeaux and Toulouse have no such diplomatic outpost. "It was because Putin's circle has an affection for this place," says the consul, Alexandre de Miller de La Cerda, who has held that position ever since. In an interview with TIME at a Biarritz hotel, he explained

that members of this circle have often attended the "debutante balls" that he has hosted, usually in the frescoed ballroom of the local casino. By showcasing the scions of Russia's new aristocrats, the evenings may have allowed Putin's courtiers to imagine themselves the heirs of czarist nobility, whose children went through the same rituals in centuries past.

Putin's own daughters have mostly kept away from such pageantry, and the Kremlin guards their private lives as closely as its military secrets. Neither Maria Putina, 32, nor Katerina Putina, 30, has ever appeared on television. The state has not released any photos of them in adulthood, nor has it confirmed some of the most basic details about their lives, such as where they live, where they work and whether they are married.

Only over the past two years has the identity of Katerina been revealed in a series of investigative reports. Born in East Germany during her father's posting there as an agent of the KGB, she grew up to become a competitive dancer of acrobatic rock 'n' roll, specializing in the category known as "boogie-woogie." A former classmate tells TIME that Katerina studied at an elite German-language school in Moscow and had trouble fitting in, partly because of the bodyguards who followed her around to parties.

According to recent investigations by Reuters and Bloomberg, Katerina is married to a young oil executive named Kirill Shamalov, the son of a Putin friend from St. Petersburg. Local property records obtained by TIME in Biarritz confirm that Shamalov owns a summer home in the town, a neo-Gothic villa that stands on a cliff overlooking the Atlantic Ocean. He purchased it in 2012 from oil trader Gen-nady Timchenko, one of the President's oldest friends. Biarritz's deputy mayor, Jocelyne Castaignede, says it is one of at least two properties in the area connected to Putin's family. "People see them in the market, going for walks," she says. "But we don't come up and take selfies with them. We don't care who they are." In the neighboring town of Anglet, a second property tied to the Putin family, an Art Deco villa, is under renovation. Its owner is listed in the local land registry as Artur Ocheretny, the St. Petersburg businessman whom Maria and Katerina's mother Lyudmila reportedly married soon after



divorcing the President in 2013. (Neither replied to TIME's requests for comment.)

Under both French and Russian law, none of these property holdings are illegal, and Castaignede assured TIME that Putin's relatives would undergo rigorous financial checks, like any foreign investors, to make sure the money they invest in France is clean. But given the secrecy around the family's links to Biarritz, it's clear the Kremlin would rather not expose the location of the Putin summer getaways to public scrutiny.

"Let God be the judge," says Father Panteleimon, the priest at the Russian Orthodox Church in Biarritz. "But to me, what they do here just doesn't look good." Sitting in the pews of his church on a recent afternoon, he says Putin's family has owned property in his parish for years—but they've never come by to give alms or pray. "They just come here to enjoy themselves," says the priest.

**MOST RUSSIANS** have never heard of their ruling family's ties to this glitzy town in the southwest of France, and the





ones who have most likely learned about it from Navalny's blog. The investigators and lawyers at Navalny's Moscow-based nonprofit, the Anti-Corruption Foundation, show little sign of slowing down as they try to track Putin's wealth. On a recent afternoon, the offices looked like a mix between a campaign headquarters and a television studio, with cameras ready to shoot another broadcast for Navalny's YouTube channel, which has more than a million subscribers.

The effort may seem pointless for a candidate who might not even get on the ballot. After a trial for embezzlement that most human-rights groups have dismissed as a sham, Navalny was sentenced in February to five years' probation, which could be grounds for the authorities to keep him out of the presidential race. In a separate ruling on May 31, a Russian court ordered him to take down his film about Medvedev and retract its allegations of bribery. Failing to comply could mean violating his probation, which would give authorities another excuse to jail him ahead of the vote.

▲  
*Mikhail Ogorodnikov, center, plans to take part in protests on June 12 that were called for by Navalny*

But these setbacks only seem to attract more young volunteers to Navalny's cause. Thousands have flocked to see him on his whistle-stop tour of the country, packing into the basement rooms that often serve as offices for his campaign. His visits to these places rarely go as planned. Speaking venues have canceled at the last minute, and local organizers have sometimes found their tires slashed or apartment doors glued shut on the morning of his arrival.

The candidate has also been repeatedly attacked. In April, a man splashed him in the face in Moscow with a noxious disinfectant. It caused severe burns to his right eye, forcing him to seek emergency treatment in Spain—and to film one of his YouTube broadcasts while wearing an eye patch. The attack may leave him partly blind, he said on May 2.

"Our task is not to rejuvenate the pro-

test movement, but to change the regime in the country," Navalny tells TIME. To meet that goal, he first needs to expand the reach of the protests beyond the urban types who already support the liberal opposition. On June 12, he will get another chance to show the world just how widespread his movement is; he has applied for the right to demonstrate in a total of 212 towns and cities across the country.

Getting approval won't be easy. Officials are considering a law that would prohibit minors from even showing up at protests. "Children shouldn't be involved in politics," Education Minister Olga Vasilyeva said in a radio interview in May. About 70% of them, she added, "don't even know what the word *corruption* means." She may have a point. Recent surveys found that more than 85% of Russians between the ages of 18 and 24 support Putin, a slightly higher approval rating compared with that of other age groups. But these sky-high ratings do not tend to reflect heartfelt support, says Denis Volkov, a sociologist at the Levada Center, an independent polling organization in Moscow.

Most Russians simply see no alternative to Putin's rule, not least because state television doesn't show them any. Among the 47% of Russians who even recognize Navalny's name, only 10% said in February that they might vote for him. In another Levada survey, published in May, less than half of Russians said they were ready to vote for Putin; 42% are undecided. "Discontent does exist," says Volkov. "But I think Putin will get the percentage he needs in 2018."

Navalny, of course, sees Russia's undecided voters as a pool of potential converts and believes their numbers will only grow as Russians turn to the Internet for information. The Kremlin's own polling agency found in May that only 52% of Russians get their news from TV networks.

That doesn't surprise Ogorodnikov, the teenager in Vladimir. Although the recent protests brought tens of thousands of people into the streets across the country, along with several thousand riot troops in Moscow, that evening's state-run news bulletins didn't even mention them. "They showed that they lie," says Ogorodnikov. And by now his generation is old enough to tell. □



Religion

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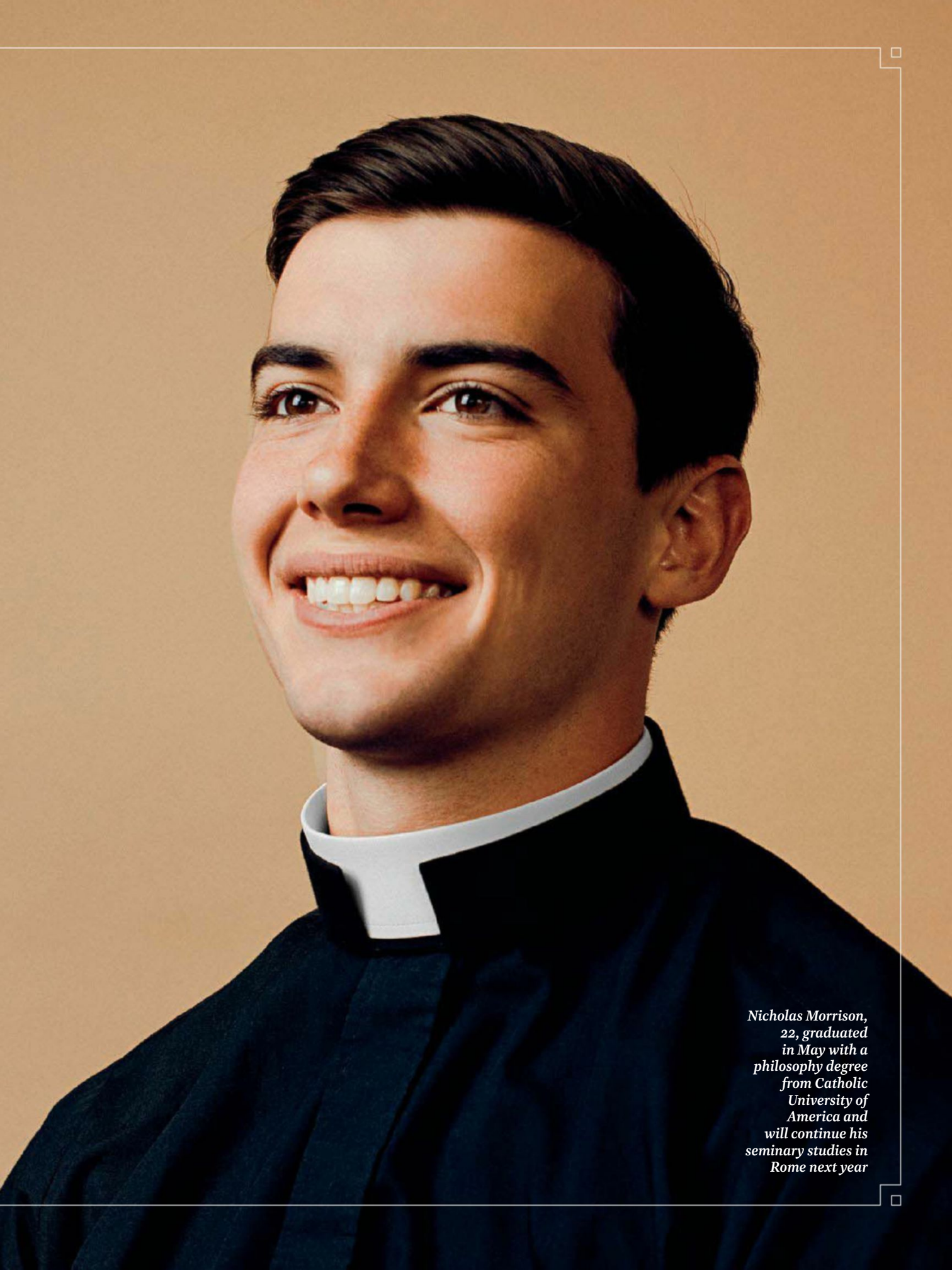
**the next generation of Catholic priests wants to surprise you**

SQUAD

**BY ELIZABETH DIAS**

PHOTOGRAPHS BY RYAN PFLUGER FOR TIME





*Nicholas Morrison, 22, graduated in May with a philosophy degree from Catholic University of America and will continue his seminary studies in Rome next year*

When 19 college guys go to Jamaica for spring break, they usually hit the bar and the beach. Not Nicholas Morrison and his friends. Their trip to Montego Bay this March was far more medieval.

Every morning they rose at 5:30 a.m. and prayed. Then they visited abandoned children with disabilities and dug an irrigation trench to protect the kids' homes from flooding in the coming summer rains. The young men joked as they moved 100 lb. boulders without machinery, naming one rock "Happy Birthday" and another "JP2," a nickname for Pope John Paul II. Their chosen spring-break hashtag? #SemsOnMission.

Morrison and his friends are Catholic seminarians, studying to become priests. Philosophy majors at the Catholic University of America in Washington, D.C., they live and study at the nearby St. John Paul II Seminary, which opened six years ago to meet a growing demand from millennial men who want to join the priesthood. It has reached capacity at 50 students and is already expanding, for the second time. "The four years I have been there have been totally incredible," says Morrison, 22, a 2017 graduate from Maryland who is headed to Rome to continue his studies. "I'm much more confident that this is something that the Lord wants me to continue to pursue."

The precise way that Morrison and his generation choose to pursue their calling is what sets them apart. Products of the 21st century, they use Facebook and

Snapchat, and text their friends funny GIFs. Some brew their own beer, protest at Black Lives Matter rallies or go to the shooting range with Marine buddies. Some are comfortable with legalizing recreational pot. They are more likely to wear their clerical attire than jeans in public, faster to share details of their prayer life than to keep them private and keener to give their Friday nights to the homeless than to Netflix. When it comes to politics, they are hard to pin down as liberal or conservative, and not all think preaching antiabortion homilies is a good idea. Instead they speak openly with their supervisors about their struggles with chastity, and some even discuss their struggles with sexual orientation. Perhaps most important, there are more of them now than there were before: 1,900 men under age 30 were enrolled in graduate-level Catholic seminaries in 2016, up from 1,300 in 2005, according to Georgetown University's Center for Applied Research in the Apostolate (CARA). In June the next wave of graduates will finish and pack up to move to churches across the nation.

This shift comes at a time when Pope Francis, who became the Pontiff in 2013, is calling for a new kind of priest to serve in parishes around the world. His predecessor was known as a scholar, but Francis is renowned as a pastor for the people. For the first time in 30 years, the Vatican this past winter revised its global guidelines for educating priests, and modeled it after Pope Francis' example of humility and vision for accessible and genuine leaders. He is open to the idea of studying how some married men can be ordained to be deacons, not priests, to serve in rural areas short on ministers. Next year he will call the world's bishops to Rome for a summit to discuss youth, faith and vocational discernment. As they prepare, he is asking Catholics "not to yield to discouragement" but to pray for the new priests to be "living signs of God's merciful love." Millennial priests are the cutting edge of his effort. The Pope makes a point to visit young seminarians when he travels to different countries, as he did in Philadelphia in 2015. "Pope Francis has been a game changer," Cardinal Blase Cupich of Chicago says. "He's made people rethink their aspirations for the priesthood."

Francis' papacy is just four years old, and the millennial priests are not a homogeneous group, but already they share a mission. Forget the old stereotypes of the priesthood—reserved men, removed and dogmatic, who present themselves at the lectern to guide their congregations. The generation heeding the Francis call looks a lot like Father Chris Seith, the parochial vicar at Our Lady of Mercy in Potomac, Md. Seith, now 28, does CrossFit, rides a bike through the halls of his parish's Catholic school donning a goofy fake mustache and gondolier's hat to greet all the students, and bakes cakes on Catholic feast days to encourage people





to celebrate holy days as real parties. Pope Francis' mission of mercy and first major writing, *The Joy of the Gospel*, guides his purpose. "Joy is contagious, energy is contagious," Seith says. "I just want to be the face of that joy."

**TO FIND** a Pope Francis–style pastor in Chicago, you need look no further than Father Matt O'Donnell. O'Donnell, 30, was the youngest-known pastor in the archdiocese's history when he got the job to lead St. Columbanus Church four years ago, just months after Francis' election. The parish is mostly African American, and it sits between two of the most violent neighborhoods on the South Side. In February, when an 11-year-old girl was shot and killed blocks away, O'Donnell went to the scene to find her family.

The neighborhood is not Catholic, and neither was the girl. But O'Donnell offered to help her

*Father Michael Trail, 27, is training for the Chicago Marathon and finishing his first year as an associate pastor at St. Damian Church in Oak Forest, Ill.*



mother with funeral costs, and then he attended the memorial. "I get to be a pastor for a whole lot of people besides those who just come on Sunday morning to mass here," he says. "My hope is that people realize that St. Columbanus is a place that's trying to provide more opportunities for the community around economic development, jobs and food insecurity."

The rise of millennial leaders like O'Donnell comes at a critical moment for the Catholic Church in the U.S., where congregants are declining as a share of the population. Even among millennials who are Catholic, only about a quarter attend church weekly, and three-quarters of younger millennial Catholics support same-sex marriage in defiance of church teaching, according to a 2014 study by the Pew Research Center.

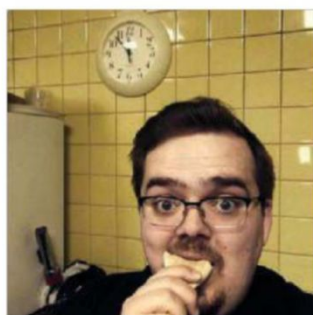
The church also faces an overall priest shortage in the U.S. The number of priests in the country has dropped from 58,600 to 37,200 over the past 50 years, and a whopping 3,500 parishes did not have their own pastor in 2016, according to CARA. That means that while young priests like O'Donnell might in the past have worked for a

decade or two as an assistant before leading their own congregation, young priests now must take on more responsibility sooner and with fewer resources. No generation may ever be able to repeat the post–World War II priest boom, when droves of men were ordained at the average age of 28 and fewer laypeople could serve in leadership roles. But the share of men under age 29 who enter Catholic seminary has risen 15% in the past 15 years, according to CARA, and the average ordination age has fallen from 37 to 34.

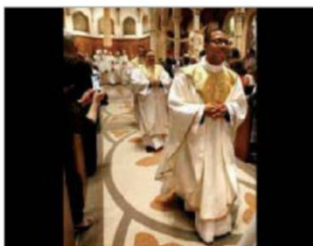
The new priests represent a cultural change in the church. For the first time, the next generation of Latino Catholics in the U.S. is larger than that of white Catholics. Only seven in 10 of the newest priests in the U.S. are white, compared with more than 9 in 10 U.S. priests overall, according to CARA. In Chicago, where 44% of Catholics but

# Breaking the mold

Like Pope Francis, the first Pope to actively use Twitter and Instagram, many of the newest priests see social media as an opportunity to share their message. “We’re much more of go-getters,” says Father Dominic Clemente, 27, of his generation. “We’re not afraid to try new things.”



Clemente dreamed of being a Broadway producer before he decided on the priesthood. “Francis has really showed me, Just go and do it,” he says. “He’s making it an action, not just an idea.”



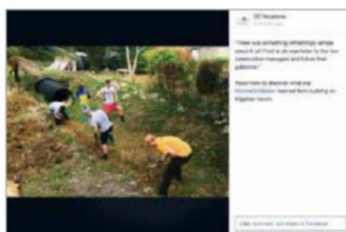
“I would have been a great father. I could have been a great husband,” says Father Michael Trail. “My love for God is so strong that I willingly gave that up.”



Father Matt O'Donnell says he wants St. Columbanus Church on Chicago's South Side to be, in the words of Pope Francis, an “oasis of mercy.”



“We’re rethinking, How do we have parishes, how are they going to look?” says Father James Wallace. “Simplify the church and make it more attractive.”



College students at Washington's St. John Paul II Seminary devoted their spring break to service projects in Jamaica.

only 14% of priests are Latino, church leadership is recruiting young priests with brochures that read, *SÉ UN LÍDER. SÉ UN HÉROE. ¡SÉ UN SACERDOTE!* (Be a leader. Be a hero. Be a priest!) As part of their studies, seminarians often learn Spanish. In Silver Spring, Md., Father Mario Majano, 30, says many immigrants question the choice to become a priest because of expectations that the next generation should help the family advance economically. “How can I be a source of stability for my family in a different, good way?” Majano recalls thinking about his decision to become a priest. “I wish we had more young Hispanics.”

All this leaves bishops looking to millennials for new leadership. Bishop Timothy Senior, who leads St. Charles Borromeo Seminary, near Philadelphia, says, “The style of the priesthood absolutely has to change” to elevate “servant leadership.” In Chicago, Cupich, 68, invited O'Donnell and Father James Wallace, 31, to be on the steering committee for the archdiocese's strategic outlook plan, called Renew My Church, to explore how parishes should function in the future. They hosted a dinner in February for the archdiocese's other young priests to discuss how to make the church more vibrant in their city. “The demands on their leadership are going to be altogether different from their predecessors,” Cupich explains. “What distresses them the most is that there might be a leadership sometimes that says, We’re just going to kick the cans down the road and not deal with them. We’re not going to worry about buildings that have huge capital needs or shrinking numbers of parishioners.”

Pope Francis has encouraged the shift. He tells church leaders to put their community first, avoid clerical bureaucracy and, above all, evangelize with kindness. In November he elevated two key American archbishops to cardinals: Cupich, who is responsible for the largest Catholic seminary in the country, Mundelein Seminary at the University of St. Mary of the Lake; and Joseph Tobin of Newark, N.J., who leads the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops' committee that is responsible for new priests. Both are important players for ensuring that the Francis vision takes root.

For young priests in Cupich's Chicago, that vision already comes naturally. St. Columbanus, for example, is named for a 6th century Irish saint, but recently O'Donnell decided to rebrand to better serve his neighborhood. He put up new mosaics that imagine the church's namesake with a black and brown face. Now he keeps the church baptismal font heated and full of water, ready for converts at any moment. “Pope Francis, he has made me excited again about becoming a priest,” O'Donnell says. “He models to me what I want to be as a priest, the ability to be creative, imaginative and not get stuck in what ‘has to be.’”





**FOR MANY** of the new generation, Pope Francis is just one of several key role models. It takes at least five years to be ordained, so most of the millennial priests of today chose their path before Francis was elected, and they owe a lot to the Popes of their youth, including John Paul II and Benedict XVI. Students at a recent Mundelein Seminary roundtable praised Pope Francis' simplicity, calling his spirituality raw, hands-on and organic, a sentiment they say fellow millennials appreciate. But when they named their biggest spiritual influences, they did not name Popes or Vatican officials. Instead, they talked of pastors back home, mothers, friends and women like St. Teresa of Calcutta and St. Thérèse of Lisieux.

The newest priests see the priesthood as a rebellion, if an unusual one. Seminary programs often offer a technology fast, for a week or a year, and young men are quick to say how much they enjoy it.

*Parochial vicar of Our Lady of Mercy Church in Potomac, Md., Father Chris Seith, 28, admires the simple life that Pope Francis promotes*



Like Pope Francis, many will take a selfie, but they caution against friendships that exist mainly on social media. The priesthood has largely resisted cultural change brought on by new family structures and a changing sense of community—most millennial seminarians have been Catholic since birth, have parents who are still married and celebrate the Eucharist every day. “They know they are going countercultural, but it is not out of ignorance,” Cardinal Donald Wuerl of Washington, who founded the St. John Paul II Seminary, says. “There has to be some vision, some purpose, some goal.”

The next priesthood is bound by this strong sense of mission. Some seminarians may trade knowledge of bishops like baseball cards, but by the time they are in churches, they are more focused on outreach. Father Dominic Clemente, 27, of Chicago, started his church's first ever youth program, filmed videos for the church's website and hopes to develop a new relationship with the Muslim Community Center down the street.

Wallace, the 31-year-old on the Renew My Church team, calls himself socially

progressive, but for him that means he's not afraid to play dodgeball with the kids, do a shot of Jameson with off-duty cops at a St. Patrick's Day party or sit on the front lawn with a cigar and an extra lawn chair so people will come and talk. “The big talk is evangelization ... How do we go out and get people to fall in love with Christ?” says Wallace, of Edison Park in Chicago. “For a certain generation of priests, they weren't trained with that concept, so evangelization is just totally foreign to them. It's not that they are opposed to it; it's just not on their radar.” Wuerl, 76, says the young generation is far more open about their prayer life and their encounters with God than he was at their age. “If you define humility as simply recognizing the truth, they are very humble people, because they have no problem talking about their own failures and their own accomplishments,” he says.

## A CHANGING CHURCH

Catholics are declining as a share of the U.S. population

51 million

Number of people in the U.S. who were Catholic in 2014, some 3 million fewer than in 2007, according to the Pew Research Center

56 million

Number of religiously unaffiliated adults in the U.S. in 2014, 19 million more than in 2007



Sexuality, and their willingness to wrestle with it openly, also sets millennial priests apart from their predecessors. Pope Francis has reiterated that marriage is not an option for priests, and seminarians are required to refrain from sexual activity. But seminary leaders say young men are not afraid to confess struggles with pornography, and they discuss how their sexuality fits with their pledge of abstinence. “I think they’ve embraced that sense of, ‘I’m here to live a chaste life, whatever my sexual orientation might be,’” Father John Kartje, president of Mundelein Seminary, says. “That conversation doesn’t have an asterisk on it for one person as opposed to another.” Adds Father Jeffrey Eickhoff, who leads St. Gregory the Great Seminary near Lincoln, Neb.: “In some sense, scandal has happened, priests have failed. There’s not so much stigma that priests are perfect anymore.”

The child sex-abuse scandal defined the church of their parents, and young men are eager to turn the page. Seith, the Maryland CrossFitter, was a young teenager in 2002 when the scandal broke. When he applied to seminary, his program required that applicants complete a background check and a comprehensive psychological evaluation, and curriculums trained seminarians on how to report abuse. He says his classmates from dioceses like Boston, where the abuse numbers were particularly high, confronted more of a stigma than he did. But he also personally knew an abuse victim, and that makes him want to set the best example of a priest that he can, especially in his work at his local Catholic school. “We talked about, How do we make sure we are approachable and people can trust us?” he says of his training. “We want to make sure the kids know they are really loved.”

Even in a new era of openness, millennial priests have limits. They believe what the culture does not, that sex outside of heterosexual marriage is sinful and that Jesus rose from the dead. Young priests embrace institutions and rituals their millennial peers eschew. “People say, ‘Well, I can worship God in my bedroom, I can worship God from the bar, I can worship while I’m lying down watching Netflix,’” Father Michael Trail, 27, of Oak Forest, Ill., says. “But taking that solid time out of your week just to thank God for the way that he’s come in your life, that only happens with structure.”

Many young priests even take this conservatism to a new level. For some, the old mass of their grand-

parents is now hip and exotic. Students at St. Charles Borromeo Seminary host outreach events that replace Christian rock music with a very solemn, high mass, complete with incense. Many choose to wear their collar even on their off-days or when out at a bar to stand out, while their rector, Bishop Senior, says his seminary classmates 30 years ago would wear jackets and ties to fit in. In a speech to Polish Jesuits, Pope Francis even encouraged young seminarians to be less rigid, to avoid narcissism and to discern “shades of gray.”

Wallace says that unlike older priests, his peers are less willing to identify with a political party. Eickhoff, whose seminary draws from mostly red states, says young men are conservative on moral issues like marriage and abortion but push back against President Trump on immigration. And while pockets of church leaders may hope Rome’s pendulum will swing right after Pope Francis, these young men are more politically independent. “I don’t think we are in an age here in the United States where the young men are going archconservative,” says Father Robert Panke, rector of St. John Paul II Seminary.


**IN THE** months ahead, Pope Francis plans to spotlight this next generation. He has dedicated the next triennial bishops’ synod at the Vatican in October 2018 to discuss youth and vocation, which will cover both calls to the priesthood and to marriage. He has asked bishops worldwide to survey young people in advance, and the Vatican is planning a website for youth to submit reflections for the event.

After the synod comes the 2019 World Youth Day in Panama, which he hopes will cement the synod’s reforms. At age 80, Francis knows that the future of the church depends on the direction millennial Catholics choose. “The church and society need you,” he told young people in a recent video message. “With your dreams and ideals, walls of stagnation fall and roads open up.”

For now, church leaders in the U.S. are hopeful that the Pope’s efforts will stick. “I say to the priests here, Anytime you’ve had a bad day, just go up to the seminary and see this next generation coming along,” Cardinal Wuerl says. The millennial priesthood is ready for the spotlight. “If we can keep those doors open for at least 100 years, we will be good,” Clemente says. “Hopefully the next guys behind us will use those open doors to continue welcoming people in.” □

The next generation looks a lot like Father Chris Seith, 28, who does CrossFit and dons a goofy mustache for fun at the parish school



A high-angle, top-down photograph of a man with long dark hair and a beard, wearing a green tank top and light-colored pants. He is sitting on a large, round, orange cushion on a blue carpeted floor. He is looking directly at the camera with a serious expression. The room is extremely cluttered with various items: a yellow acoustic guitar is on the floor to his left; a desk with a computer monitor, keyboard, mouse, and a rotary phone is to his right; a blue bag with 'YAMAHA' written on it is behind him; and shelves and the floor are covered with books, toys, and other miscellaneous objects. The lighting is bright, and the overall scene suggests a creative or chaotic workspace.

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MUSIC

# Life of the

LORDE, POP'S FASCINATING WUNDERKIND, COMES OF AGE

# Party

BY SAM LANSKY/LOS ANGELES

IT'S A BONE-DRY DESERT NIGHT IN APRIL, AND Lorde is dancing onstage in a corseted top and shimmery sequined pants that make her look a little like a disco mermaid. It's her second time performing here at Coachella, the music festival that overtakes the valley east of Palm Springs, Calif., every spring. The first time, in 2014, when she was 17, was a trial for Lorde—a hyperliterate teenager thrust into the center of one of the biggest music festivals in the world. Now 20, she is familiar with this particular type of fever dream. She runs the stage like a veteran pop star, charismatically chatting with the crowd. But she doesn't dance like a pop star, even as the pulsating chords of her new single "Green Light" crescendo. There's no real choreography, no backup dancers flexing in unison, no marks to hit. Her movements are spidery and wild. She's a tangle of limbs, mesmerizing and vaguely mystical.

Later, she tells me that the scale of a performance like this intimidates her still. "Ten minutes beforehand I was like, 'I can't do it. Give them back their money. So sorry,'" she says. "It was too much for me." She's honest about what it takes for her to get through it. "A shot of whiskey and a beta blocker, and it all happens for me," she says. "But I'm a shell of a person after. I need to sit alone and watch a cooking show."

Playing to tens of thousands of people at the

PHOTOGRAPH BY MARK MAHANEY FOR TIME

main stage of Coachella is a disquieting proposition for a self-described introvert. But Lorde is making some of the most exciting music in pop by living in contradictions just like this. Her second album, *Melodrama*, out June 16, packs an emotional wallop, especially considering how quietly analytical her debut was. “For a lot of people, their teenage years would be where they were most emotionally accessible, and for me it was the opposite,” she says. “I realized I was feeling all the feelings, and they feel so singular and so young. When I was 16, it felt important to be unfazed by things. Now I’m deeply fazed.”

This record is not only a test of her unique position in the pop firmament but also an attempt to capture the feeling of being young in 2017: tense, urgent, uncertain about the future. To be a success, it needs to speak to this moment. As she puts it, “Nobody wants an apathetic pop record right now.”

**LORDE WAS BORN** Ella Yelich-O’Connor in New Zealand in 1996. (Her friends still call her Ella.) She grew up outside Auckland, raised by her mother Sonja, a poet, and father Vic, an engineer. “Since the day I was born, I was the kid who stays at the party for an hour, then walks upstairs and sits with her book,” she says. She signed a development deal with Universal Music Group when she was 12 and spent several years learning to write songs and working with a coach to hone her deep, smoky voice. She chose to call herself Lorde because of her curiosity about aristocracy, the *e* adding a touch of femininity.

In 2011, she hit it off with producer Joel Little, a fellow New Zealander. Together they wrote her first single, “Royals,” released in late 2012. The song became a surprise hit, holding the No. 1 spot on the *Billboard* Hot 100 for nine consecutive weeks and going on to win two Grammys, including Song of the Year. Her debut album, *Pure Heroine*, sold over 3 million copies worldwide and was critically acclaimed for its brooding minimalism and sophisticated themes.

“Royals” was a rarity—a chart-topping single that had something smart and fresh to say. The song is an uneasy, class-conscious take on conspicuous consumption and what kids are supposed to aspire to. (“And we’ll never be

royals/ It don’t run in our blood/ That kind of lux just ain’t for us,” the chorus goes.) Built on an infernally catchy hook, the song helped define Lorde as an intellectually credible counterpoint to peers like Miley Cyrus and Katy Perry, who also had No. 1’s in the same season. She telegraphed the precocious world-weariness of a generation sick of being pandered to: “I’m kind of over getting told to throw my hands up in the air,” she sings on another *Pure Heroine* single, “Team,” also a Top 10 hit.

Success freighted Lorde with considerable pressure. “I had this experience of being disconnected and making a record that felt like it was reaching out to the world,” she says, perched on a balcony at the Chateau Marmont in Los Angeles, of writing her first record. Then the world reached back, making her a superstar. “It put me in this unique position: How is she next going to speak for all of us?” Which, she says, was terrifying. “One young person shouldn’t, and can’t, speak for all of them. I know my record company would love it if I could.”

Her life was also changing—and quickly—partly because she became famous but also as a result of normal young-adult stuff like moving away from home and experiencing heartbreak. “I always saw myself, with my writing, as like an anthropologist. It was just about observing,” she says. “This time I was thrust into the soup of what I was doing. I couldn’t be detached or cool anymore.”

In person, Lorde is more cheerful and enthusiastic than you might expect, but she still has a commanding intensity. She resists being perceived as overly dark, no matter how much a witchy mystique may define her sound. Her music, she says, “is about pain, but it’s more so about joy—the process of discovering joy and reclaiming joy. Like crying and dancing in equal parts.”

*‘One young person  
shouldn’t, and can’t,  
speak for all of them.  
I know my record  
company would  
love it if I could.’*

**LORDE SPENT THE YEARS** after the release of *Pure Heroine* touring and working on other projects, like executive-producing the soundtrack for a *Hunger Games* film, to which she contributed several songs. Her work on a follow-up album didn’t start in earnest until she began collaborating with producer Jack Antonoff, a musician who has released two albums under the moniker Bleachers and has written songs with Taylor Swift and Sara Bareilles. Antonoff’s writing signature is slightly left-of-center, emotionally charged songs. Lorde describes their work together as “somewhere between top-of-the-class pop and something that steals your heart out of your chest.”

Together they began shaping the songs that make up *Melodrama*. Antonoff co-wrote and co-produced all but one of the songs—unusual in the world of pop. Big albums these days usually feature sessions with many writers and producers to ensure that there’s a diversity of styles represented—a song for every listener. “It wasn’t easy to make,” Lorde says. “To have to do something else which felt just as idiosyncratic without retreading old ground was a handful. Every single drop of blood that went into this record was so considered.”

If it’s a decided shift away from the cool-kid persona on display on her first album, Antonoff says the core remains the same. “We have a tendency to make artists characters in a story,” he says. “What really made Ella popular was her honesty.”

Lorde talks about pop music as though it’s both rocket science and the highest art form. “A lot of people make pop music because it will make them rich,” she says. “I make this music because I’m obsessed with it and I think it’s the best thing in the world.” She says she’s mostly indifferent to her commercial performance. “Part of me feels like everything I do from now on, if it’s not as big as ‘Royals,’ some people will perceive it as a failure. But for me, I’m going to spend my life worshipping the form. Sometimes that will just mean that it comes on at a party and everyone runs to the dance floor.”

Second albums are notoriously difficult to get right, either hewing too close to the original or pivoting too





▲  
*Lorde performs at the music festival  
Coachella in mid-April*

dramatically. *Melodrama* is remarkable because it doesn't sound overworked and Lorde manages to break new ground. She moves away from just observing and mines themes universal to young people, like seeking independence, experiencing heartbreak and partying—sometimes too much. Her eye for detail is there too. “This record really does feel like what happens after you leave home. What does that new world look like?” she says.

While the hooks are as sharp as anything on radio right now, the writing is wiser than that of many of her contemporaries. It's really a document of intensity and feeling, one that Lorde describes as a “blueprint of my brain.” The lead single, “Green Light,” is a cathartic sing-along that takes an eerie vocal introduction and builds into a thunderous chorus. It's both unsettled and euphoric, like doing jump-jacks in the rain.

*Melodrama* sounds more like the Lorde who emerges once you've gotten to know her. “It needed to be complex, because heartbreak is complex,” she says. “The Louvre” is another standout, a swelling

love song about the way a crush runs wild: “Megaphone's in my chest/ broadcast the boom-boom-boom-boom and make 'em all dance to it.” On the lovelorn ballad “Writer in the Dark,” the chorus rips out of nowhere like a spooky keening: “I am my mother's child/ I'll love you till my breathing stops/ I'll love you till you call the cops on me,” she sings.

The ballad “Liability” is maybe her finest work as a songwriter, a masterpiece of resigned heartbreak: “The truth is I am a toy that people enjoy till all of the tricks don't work anymore/ and then they are bored of me,” she sings. She calls writing the song an “act of self-love,” even though it's unmistakably sad. “I feel like if I'd had that song when I was 15,” she says, “maybe it would have been kind to me.”

**IT'S THE FIRST WEEKEND** in June, and Houston is beset with thunder and lightning rippling through a

steamy gray sky. The weather is, well, melodramatic. Lorde was supposed to headline at the Free Press Summer Festival. But moments after her flight touches down in Texas, the show is canceled. She calls me from the airport, where she's now waiting to head back to New York early. “We've been having these insane winds and floods,” she says, sounding disappointed. It does feel unjust, somehow, that she can't control the weather.

Isn't she at least relieved to be freed of the anxiety of performing, now that her show has been canceled? Apparently not. “Since we last spoke, I've really been making an effort to be more mindful and get everything I can out of each show,” she says. She describes a recent performance at Governors Ball, a festival in New York City, as “amazing and moving.” It made her excited to continue playing for the young people who come out to party and sing along to her songs. “I covered my hands in this pearlescent silver dust. I wanted them to be like my energy conductors.”

She talks more about the shape of the album, about what she calls the “narrative thread” running through *Melodrama*, a record about partying that's complicated and dynamic. “I love that it isn't 11 bangers, that it doesn't stick to one frequency,” she says. “Songs exist in abstract incarnations of what the idea of a party means. A party can be literal, but it can also be something emotional.”

Lorde expands on this, wondering what it really means to *party*, to engage in uninhibited self-exploration, whether that comes by way of a bottle or a song. “The pillars of this record are courage and fear,” she says. “Sometimes courage comes in a liquid form. This record was about giving me a different perspective, because I'm such an intense person with such an intense brain.” There's a clap of thunder on both ends of the call. “Or maybe,” she says plainly, “I was just getting drunk because I was sad and went through a breakup.” For a moment, she doesn't sound preternaturally wise, just honest—like any young person looking for answers.

Her flight is about to take off, so she says goodbye. A few minutes later, the storm passes. □



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# Time Off

'MAGPIE MURDERS IS ABSOLUTE CATNIP FOR CLASSIC MYSTERY LOVERS.' —PAGE 52



Yep, *It Comes at Night* is scary. But the film's real terror is in its subtext

## MOVIES

### ***It Comes at Night* and the high art of the new horror**

By Stephanie Zacharek

TO BE SCARED AT THE MOVIES IS A particular kind of pleasure, which might be why horror movies so often do well at the box office. Watching them at home is never the same, maybe because, in an audience, a glance to our right or left reminds us that we're not the only ones alone in the dark. Together we make an army—fortified by Twizzlers and Diet Coke—against the zombie apocalypse, whether it's onscreen or, figuratively speaking, right outside.

I wouldn't want to watch Trey Edward Shults' *It Comes at Night* alone. Unless you're a particularly sturdy soul, I wouldn't recommend that you do so either. The picture is part of the new breed of horror films that has emerged from the shadows in recent years, chilly little

burnt offerings like *The Babadook*, *The Witch* and *It Follows*. These movies, made on small budgets but brushed with a sophisticated sheen, strive to deliver a more cerebral kind of shiver. They're designed to make us think even as we're shaking, and if they're effective, there's often something overcalculating about them too.

The creeping terror of *It Comes at Night* is implied—though that doesn't make it any less terrifying. (See the image on this page if you have any doubt.) Joel Edgerton and Carmen Ejogo play Paul and Sarah, parents sequestered in their woodsy home with their 17-year-old son Travis (Kelvin Harrison Jr.). As the movie opens, they're bidding a horrifying goodbye to Sarah's father and Travis'

beloved grandfather, who has caught the plague of whatever it is that lurks just outside the family's well-fortified door. This is a house with a lot of rules—Paul will do whatever it takes to protect his brood—and we can see Travis chafing under his father's authority. Then a couple and their young son enter the family's orbit. They include an attractive young woman, Kim (Riley Keough), and it's easy to see why Travis, shy, sweet and sheltered, would be captivated. He's a good kid, generous and eager to do the right thing, but his circumstances are extreme. He's the spiritual kin of Anne Frank—growing up doesn't stop when you're shut inside a physically and emotionally claustrophobic space, hiding from the horrors of the outside world.

Harrison (who has had roles in *Birth of a Nation* and TV's *Shots Fired*) gives a finely shaded performance. He hints at Travis' subterranean frustration and resentment without overtly signaling it. In fact, just about everything in *It Comes at Night* is subtle. Shults is the gifted young director behind the bracing 2015 prodigal-family-member drama *Krishna*, which he made on the tiniest of budgets. (That film was shot in nine days, in his mother's house.) Shults has more resources at his disposal here, and he uses them to elegant, disarming effect. The house in which Travis' family is sequestered is all sharp angles and secretive shadows, a seemingly safe place that promises no safety. The surrounding forest is no haven either. Shults and cinematographer Drew Daniels shoot it like an eerie cathedral of crooked boughs and not-so-sheltering sky, a place where nature is fighting a losing battle against some unseen, unforgiving enemy.

*It Comes at Night* is somber and disquieting, a muted, blinking beacon of hopelessness. The craft behind it is admirable. You may find yourself enjoying the picture's skillfulness even as you hope it will be over soon. In the end, its notions of what it means to trust—and to betray—make it feel like an overworked humanities exercise. But that doesn't negate its sober spookiness. The half-glimpsed terrible thing in our own backyard might not be as terrible as what's already in the house. □

MOVIES

## Beatriz at Dinner means well but flags before the last course

By Stephanie Zacharek

HORRIBLE PEOPLE ARE EVERYWHERE. Which means, once in a while, you get stuck sharing a meal with them. That's the premise of Miguel Arteta's *Beatriz at Dinner*: Salma Hayek plays Beatriz, an openhearted holistic health practitioner—and Mexican immigrant—who becomes stranded at the home of well-heeled client Kathy (Connie Britton) when her VW breaks down. Kathy magnanimously invites Beatriz to stay for the small evening gathering she's hosting, where the guest of honor is a greedy, blowhard real estate magnate aptly named Doug Strutt (John Lithgow).

Strutt is a blatant stand-in for you-know-who, and though Beatriz struggles to be polite in the face of his boorishness, her innate kindness gives way to fury. (His boasts about bagging a rhino in Africa, illustrated by grim cell phone photos, are what

drive her over the edge.) It doesn't help that Beatriz, in this setting, is at least once mistaken for a servant. She's wearing her work clothes, while the other guests (including Chloë Sevigny and Jay Duplass as a duo of rapid social climbers) are

decked out in slinky dresses and uptight sport coats. This world of haves can see Beatriz only as a have-not, not as a person.

Unfortunately Hayek's vibrance as an actor is tamped down here. She seems restricted by the sanctimoniousness of the role. The script is by Mike White, who has also written two

of Arteta's previous films, *Chuck & Buck* and *The Good Girl*. The story's aims are noble, but it works too hard at scoring its points to succeed as either entertainment or lacerating social commentary. The picture needed to bite harder and deeper. It circles its prey nobly but stops short of moving in for the kill. □



### ANIMAL IMPULSE

Mike White was inspired to write the film when he heard the story of Walter Palmer, the dentist-slash-hunter who killed Cecil the Lion, above, in 2015



Hayek's Beatriz is a saintly dinner guest trapped with a bunch of rich bozos

LION: SEAN HERBERT—AP; BEATRIZ AT DINNER: ROADSIDE ATTRACTIONS; ELUOTT: MICHAEL LOCCISANO—GETTY IMAGES



## QUICK TALK

# Sam Elliott

In *The Hero*, the veteran actor, 72, charms as a fading star of westerns who reckons with his failures as he faces his mortality. The role was written specifically for him.

**Between this film and his last movie, *I'll See You in My Dreams*, it seems like writer-director Brett Haley is on a crusade to make you a leading man in your 70s.** It's bizarre. It may be a one-man crusade. It's incredible, particularly when it's some kid half my age. I just thought, Where does this kid come up with these stories about ageism and life? The fact that [he and co-writer Marc Basch] thought enough of me to write another script was mind-boggling.

**Someone observed that your character's name, Lee Hayden, is a mashup of Lee Marvin and Sterling Hayden, two iconic masculine actors.**

Those are two of my favorite actors from that day. They were men's men. I identified with those guys. I grew up with them. My dad was that way. He worked for the Fish and Wildlife Service, and he had this bunch of guys that he worked with, all men close to the land. Those were the men that I grew up around.

**You star in this film opposite your wife Katharine Ross (famous for *The Graduate* and *The Stepford Wives*). What's been your experience landing interesting roles as you've gotten older?** Women are still given short shrift. I've seen it firsthand. Katharine would love to be working more. It always has perplexed me, whether male or female—but particularly female—that you get to a certain point and that's not interesting anymore. I get that it's about marketing, but I just don't agree with it.

**The movie raises the idea of achieving immortality through film. Have you thought about that?** No. It's been great having this career I wanted since I was a kid. I look at myself in *The Hero* and think, Jesus Christ, am I that old? I look a lot older to my eye than I feel. I feel like a young guy. But I don't think about my legacy. —ELIZA BERMAN

## REGRETS

### MUSICAL THEATER

*"I had a chance to audition for Broadway years ago, and I'm sorry I didn't. I don't know if it's in the cards now. I can't imagine some 72-year-old guy singing in many movies."*



## MOVIES

# A cowboy makes a comeback in *The Hero*

WHAT'S IT LIKE TO FALL IN LOVE EVEN AS YOU'RE falling apart? In *The Hero*, Sam Elliott plays Lee Hayden, an aging, mostly out-of-work actor—the cowboy roles in which he used to specialize have all but disappeared. Lee is sanguine enough about the scarcity of acting jobs. But no one wants a cancer diagnosis, and when Lee gets that particular bit of bad news, he heads out to see his pot dealer (Nick Offerman) to indulge in a little self-medication. There he meets another customer, a firecracker more than 30 years his junior, Charlotte (Laura Prepon). The two begin a playful yet often prickly love affair. If the older-dude-younger-woman matchup runs the risk of ruffling some feathers, it should be noted that Charlotte aggressively pursues Lee, and not, as you might expect, the other way around.

You could say *The Hero* looks like just another story about an older guy who gets one last chance to recharge his life, and you'd almost be right. But director Brett Haley, who co-wrote the script with Marc Basch, brings enough understated sympathy to Lee's character to make the picture work—it throws off a gentle, sweet-spirited energy. Elliott was superb opposite Blythe Danner in Haley's 2015 *I'll See You in My Dreams*, and here—with his lanky, fence-post frame and a voice as rich and husky as strong coffee brewed in a speckled tin pot—he radiates laid-back sex appeal. There's plenty of time to ride off into the sunset. Why rush? —s.z.

## The best of a manly man

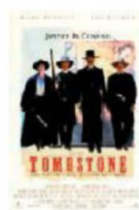
Five Elliott films that show he's the real deal:



**I WILL FIGHT  
NO MORE  
FOREVER**  
1975



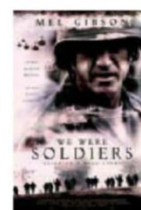
**MASK**  
1985



**TOMBSTONE**  
1993



**THE BIG  
LEBOWSKI**  
1998



**WE WERE  
SOLDIERS**  
2002

TIME  
PICKS

## MOVIES

**Maudie** (June 16) brings folk artist Maud Lewis to life in the story of an unexpected romance between a struggling painter (Sally Hawkins) and a hermit bachelor (Ethan Hawke).



## BOOKS

BuzzFeed writer Anne Helen Petersen profiles groundbreaking women like Serena Williams and Caitlyn Jenner in her sharp book **Too Fat, Too Slutty, Too Loud** (June 20).

## TELEVISION

Oprah and Ava DuVernay return with a second season of **Queen Sugar** (June 20), the acclaimed Louisiana drama about radically different siblings united by the family farm that needs rescuing, on OWN.

## MUSIC

Former Gossip lead singer **Beth Ditto**'s debut full-length solo album, *Fake Sugar* (June 16), features 12 songs bursting with uptempo punk energy.



## MOVIES

## Why Wonder Woman broke through

By Eliana Dockterman

WONDER WOMAN'S BIG-screen debut—which came on June 2, 76 years after she first appeared in print—could have been a disaster. Last year critics panned Warner Bros. and DC Comics' dour *Batman v Superman* and disjointed *Suicide Squad*. And Hollywood executives have been skeptical about whether female superheroes can succeed at the box office ever since a string of mid-2000s flops like *Catwoman* and *Elektra*. When movie-theater chain Alamo Drafthouse announced that it would schedule all-female screenings of *Wonder Woman*, men's-rights activists accused the company of "sex discrimination."

But the premiere made history: *Wonder Woman* had the biggest weekend opening ever for a female director, bringing in more than \$100 million. This shouldn't be such a surprise, given the recent success of movies like *The Hunger Games* and *Rogue One*, which have proved the appeal of stories led by female fighters.

Turns out, yes, women (and men) want to see strong women put the forces of evil, however fantastical, in their place. The movie's box office augurs well for a slate of upcoming female superhero movies: *Captain Marvel* in 2019 as well as a movie about *Suicide Squad* character Harley Quinn and a *Spider-Man* spin-off focused on that series' female characters.

Ultimately *Wonder Woman* is a triumph as a movie. That the film works has everything to do with the choices made by director

Patty Jenkins, 45, the first woman to helm a big-budget superhero movie. Jenkins cut her teeth on the Oscar-winning *Monster*, a 2003 thriller about a female serial killer. Yet unlike many of her peers who opt for grim tales and burdened heroes, Jenkins infused *Wonder Woman* with the kind of

humor (not snark) and romance (not sex) that hark back to Old Hollywood. Set during World War I, the movie builds a temporal and thematic trench between itself and the vacuous *Batman v Superman*. It doesn't feel like a two-hour trailer for the studio's next tentpole.

Yes, *Wonder Woman* succeeded as a big-budget film that stars a woman. But the hero's gender becomes irrelevant to just about everyone in the theater after the first 20 minutes. More important, it's an all-too-rare big-budget film that tells a compelling story. □

## SHE'S COMPLEX

Like other pop heroines, *Wonder Woman* must be everything to everyone: fighter and pacifist, smart and naive, feminist and bombshell. On film, that means walking a fine line between contradictory characteristics



Gal Gadot plays the Amazonian warrior, raised on a female-only island, who ventures to Europe to fight in the Great War





Kelly's Sunday-night debut fell short of her best work, but she has time to find her footing

## TELEVISION

# Megyn Kelly, queen of TV sparring, meets her match

NBC NEWS HAS PLACED A HIGH VALUE ON ITS NEW STAR Megyn Kelly, giving the former Fox News anchor a forthcoming morning show and a Sunday night newsmagazine bluntly titled *Sunday Night*, which debuted on June 4. Unfortunately the title seems inadvertently revealing of a rushed approach in putting forward an anchor more comfortable in the boisterous world of cable talk.

On Fox, Kelly mastered turning questions over to find unexpected angles. On *Sunday Night*, by contrast, her interview with Russian President Vladimir Putin seemed to follow a predictable script, posing questions about his ties to U.S. politics that he easily deflected. The result amounted to “holding someone accountable” as theater. Everyone goes home unscathed in this scenario—and unburdened with new information. Better would have been to ask him about gay oppression in Chechnya or his control of the press at home.

Unfortunately *Sunday Night* was the Diet Coke equivalent of geopolitics—no aftertaste, no calories and too much caffeine. Kelly has time yet to find her footing, though. Presumably she will be going light in the morning (where her as yet unnamed show will air opposite the sagging *Live with Kelly and Ryan*) and hitting heavy at night. But *Sunday Night* at present hides all of Kelly's most appealing qualities—the joy she brings to winning an argument, her intuition of what viewers want. No doubt Kelly has a very particular sort of talent. If her new show is to succeed, she's going to have to bring a bit more of her Fox act to the peacock network.

—DANIEL D'ADDARIO

'How about if we merge a little Charlie Rose, a little Oprah and a little me all together? And we serve that up as an hour?'

MEGYN KELLY, on her ambitions, to CBS News in 2016

## TELEVISION

# No break for Orange's prisoners

LAST YEAR MARKED A stunning high for *Orange Is the New Black*, the Netflix prison drama that has only deepened its storytelling and political charge. With a story line on the disconnect between guards and inmates leading to a tragic conclusion, a show that had, in its second and third seasons, edged toward staleness has found a fervent new voice.

The fifth season of the series continues in the pitched, passionate style that's *Orange* at its juiciest. The whole season transpires during the uprising from the final moments of Season 4—meaning that we're watching insurrection in close to real time. The inmates taking down the gatekeepers adds yet more anarchic self-assurance to the story. Time is carved out for crafting, a séance and wisecracks. While the story lets its characters show their human sides, it doesn't condescend.

—D.D.

## ORANGE IS THE NEW BLACK

streams on Netflix beginning June 9

From left: Kate Mulgrew, Laura Prepon and Taylor Schilling aren't done plotting



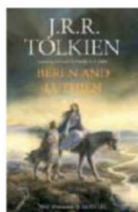
**SUNDAY NIGHT** airs on NBC on Sundays at 7 p.m. E.T.



Sofia Coppola became the **first woman in more than half a century to win Best Director at the Cannes Film Festival** for her Civil War-era thriller *The Beguiled*.



The Japanese animation house Studio Ghibli, responsible for movies like the Oscar-winning *Spirited Away*, announced **plans to build a theme park based on its beloved film *My Neighbor Totoro* in Nagoya, Japan.**



*Beren and Lúthien*, a book conceived by *Lord of the Rings* author J.R.R. Tolkien 100 years ago, went on sale. It was edited by his son Christopher Tolkien.

Rihanna caught even the announcer's attention at an NBA Finals game, when she appeared to **bow for Cleveland Cavaliers star LeBron James and heckle Golden State Warrior Kevin Durant.**



The word *stan*, originated by rapper Eminem in 2000, **has been added to the Oxford English Dictionary.** It's defined as "an overzealous or obsessive fan of a particular celebrity."



## LOVE IT LEAVE IT

TIME'S WEEKLY TAKE ON

WHAT POPPED IN CULTURE



After a man **sued Utah for the right to tie the knot with his computer**, the state's attorney general's office said in a court filing that there is no constitutional right to marry a laptop.



Chloë Grace Moretz said she was "appalled and angry" about the marketing for her upcoming animated film, which **suggests that a curvier version of Snow White was less beautiful** than a tall, thin depiction.

Baywatch star Priyanka Chopra was criticized online for **posting selfies at Berlin's Holocaust memorial** while promoting her new movie.



Burger King pulled an online ad campaign after the Belgian royal family **objected to the fast-food chain's use of an image of their monarch, King Philippe.**

Comedian Bill Maher apologized after **making a joke using the N word** in a live broadcast of his HBO show *Real Time*.



GHIBLI: EVERETT; CHOPRA: INSTAGRAM; RED SHOES: TWITTER; MAHER: HBO; RIHANNA, COPPOLA, EMINEM, KING PHILIPPE, BURGER KING, LAPTOP: GETTY IMAGES





## Invasion of the garden snatcher and other tales of suburban apocalypse

By **Kristin van Ogtrop**

AH, JUNE. THE ABSOLUTE BEST MONTH OF THE YEAR. Such a happy month, so full of promise! School winds down, temperatures warm up, and my little suburban patch of the world bursts with green blooming wonder. Brightly colored goldfinches have returned to the feeder out back, and a wren has built a nest in the birdhouse beside the patio. I sit outside with my morning coffee, listen to the birds sing and feel simply at one with the world as a sense of tranquility and satisfaction—HOLD ON A MINUTE. HAS THE BAMBOO STARTED COMING UP OVER THERE?!

If it's true that civilization carries the seeds of its own destruction, my garden may be ground zero. There is a running joke in my household that the title of my next book will be *Everything Is Invasive*; each plant I put in the ground seems intent on obliterating everything else around it. The bishop's weed is trying to kill the vinca; the Solomon's seal wants to strangle the geranium; the black-eyed Susan is determined to demolish the evening primrose; and the columbine keeps popping up where you least expect it, staging sneak attacks on everything.

**AND THEN THERE IS THE BAMBOO.** The mother of all destruction: too tall, too dense, a reedy conqueror of plant life and human serenity. Planted in a moment of folly by the previous owner of my house, my bamboo is the opposite of eco-friendly, despite what experts will have you believe. In fact, the relentlessness, the sheer unkillableness of the bamboo in my yard calls to mind the murderous life form we met in 1979 in *Alien*. (And with the release of the sixth movie, *Alien: Covenant*, this summer, I feel pretty confident in declaring that the franchise is as unkillable as the beast.) If nothing is done about my bamboo, it will be only a matter of time before it destroys all of humanity. So, to my fellow citizens of the world: I apologize in advance. I'm no Sigourney Weaver.

This year, though, my despair about backyard bamboo has been replaced by despair about the Svalbard Global Seed Vault. Most of us haven't paid much attention to the vault, which is a cool-looking structure that extends 425 ft. beneath a frozen mountain in Norway and contains nearly a million seed samples from around the world. The vault was designed to survive just about any kind of apocalyptic event. Except, apparently, global warming: mild panic spread throughout the scientific world recently when officials discovered that rising temperatures and melting permafrost had allowed water to penetrate the entrance to the vault, creating a small foyer glacier, as it were.



**I HAVE SO MANY QUESTIONS** about the vault! First, can I get a tour? Second, who exactly is going to plant the seeds once the apocalypse hits and humanity is destroyed? And finally: Do the vault scientists know about my bamboo? Because, given the killer alienness of my backyard nemesis, and what appears to be a lax oversight of the vault, in my darkest, most apocalyptic imagination I envision my bamboo seeds eating all the other seeds that are meant to save us, assuming someone is around to plant them. Which I suspect would be very bad for biodiversity in our post-destroyed world.

I'm not entirely sure why suburbanites like me enjoy gardening. It is indeed beautiful: it's soul-enriching to be outside, and manual labor, if recreational, can be quite restorative. Like *Candide*, we cultivate our own gardens in the hope of creating our own happiness. We also cultivate our own gardens to preserve the illusion that we have control over some part of the world. (And these days, with the Paris Agreement in our rearview mirror, we need all the illusion of control we can get.) But then some of us plant bamboo and, as Private Hudson says in *Aliens*, "Game over, man. Game over!"

I did recently learn a tip for bamboo control, which I intend to share with the folks in the vault should the situation there get out of hand. My friend Paul said that all you need to do is surround your bamboo with a trench that's at least two feet deep and line it with thick, impenetrable plastic. When the bamboo roots hit the buried plastic, he explained, they "turn around and head back to the mother ship." Yes, Paul said *mother ship*. He's obviously been thinking about aliens too.

*Van Ogtrop is the author of Just Let Me Lie Down: Necessary Terms for the Half-Insane Working Mom*

**David Brown** The former Dallas police chief, 56, on Black Lives Matter, police shootings, how to chase away drug dealers and that terrible day in July

**How did things change in Dallas after the shooting of five officers in July 2016?** As police officers, we struggle to hear any appreciation. What happened in Dallas is that people expressed appreciation. It was sincere, authentic, heartfelt. The families felt it—\$11 million was raised for them. A gap has been bridged between the community and its police department.

**You set a world precedent by using a robot to kill the suspect in that encounter. Did you worry you were opening Pandora's box?** I weighed how to end the siege without losing another officer or citizen. I did not calculate the aftermath as much at the time. I'd make that same decision again. We expect our police departments to make communities safe and we give our officers tools, and I think we have an adequate level of review and accountability.

**In your new book, *Called to Rise*, you describe being part of a SWAT team. Have police become too militarized?** I think [the equipment] has been used in the wrong way. It's not being used to protect officers. It's being used to intimidate citizens who are protesting.

**One of your strategies for lowering crime in Dallas was to have cops sit all day on a corner that had been claimed by drug dealers. Could that work everywhere?** It's been solidly researched that hot-spot policing makes us safer, reduces crime and doesn't displace it. Criminals choose an area because they feel like they can get away with it. If you can displace them to areas where they don't feel like they can get away with it, you reduce crime throughout the area. It is the best story never told.

**Has Black Lives Matter been a helpful or harmful force?** It's brought awareness. But it has not brought about significant change. I think the movement would say the same thing, that these shootings keep happening. In this country, significant change never occurs

when you protest and that's the only thing you do. Policing is controlled by local governments, and 90% of people don't participate in those elections.

**What is the best way to address mass incarceration?** Go to any city or state and say, "Raise your hand if you want us to raise your taxes to build more jail-based space." When Attorney General Sessions said, "Let's charge people with the highest charge and not waver," he didn't mention where the funding was going to come from.

**Your son died after he killed two people, including an officer, while you were chief. How did that change you?** It gave me the deepest empathy for people who suffer and families with people they love who have mental illness. You name shooting after shooting where we've had multiple people killed, and those suspects have a mental illness. And yet unless you are affluent, there's no capacity to deal with the mentally ill.

**In May, a Dallas-area officer was arrested after shooting a car and killing a teenager.**

**Is that progress?** The Balch Springs police department, where that happened, is very small and doesn't get the type of training that it should. I'm not making excuses. I fired more officers than any chief in recent history. This particular officer wasn't suited to be a cop. There's no reason to pull out a high-powered rifle at a teenage party. So, progress? A life is lost. You can't say progress when somebody's only child is shot. I would argue that we're having the right discussions.

—BELINDA LUSCOMBE

**'When Attorney General Sessions said, "Let's charge people with the highest charge and not waver," he didn't mention where the funding was going to come from.'**



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